

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

No. 445.

January, 1903

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JAMES MARTINEAU.

THE Life of Dr. Martineau, written with notable amplitude of detail, yet with becoming reserve, is before us in two portly volumes.* The scope is large enough to satisfy the most exacting affection; the accuracy, even allowing for an occasional slip, is thorough and rare; the tone is reverent, the spirit independent, and the treatment throughout impartial while as fond as an admiring discipleship can make it. The first part is biographical, and cannot be charged with being either brief or frivolous; the second part, which is from another hand, deals with the philosophy, and is at once vigorous and lucid. The duplication of authorship has its advantages, for the field was at first so well gleaned that the second gleaner is tempted to carry off bodily some of the sheaves. Yet Dr. Martineau's significance is so much due to the philosophy he stood for that without a full study of him as a thinker his biography would not have been either satisfactory or complete. And the philosopher has here a lighter and more springy step than the biographer. The book, as a whole, may be said to be rather colourless, to want both the atmosphere and the background which were needed to bring out the proportions of the central figure. But its sobriety and its conscientious workmanship entitle it to a high place in the class of literature to which it belongs.

Dr. Martineau came of a fine stock, for in him the blood of the French Huguenot blended with the blood of the English Puritan. He owed to the one his keen and delicate intelligence, the elaborate elegance of his style and his love of the true as the Beautiful and the Good; and to the other his severe conscientiousness, his ideal of freedom, his ethical passion, his strenuous obedience to the conscience which he held to be the voice of God. It used to be said that Harriet Martineau was the man of the family and James the woman, but this

* The life and letters of James Martineau, by James Drummond, M.A., LL.D., Litt.D. and C. B. Upton, B.A., B.Sc. Two volumes, London (James Nisbet and Co.) 1902.

biography proves the saying to be not even superficially true. There is in the man as he here appears a singular strength of will, integrity of nature and devotion to both intellectual and moral ideals. There is indeed a curious detachment in his friendships; though he is, in his way through life, anything but companionless, or unaccompanied by the affection that loves to admire and follow. But in his highest moods he dwells alone save for the God with whom he seems to speak face to face. Where he has a belief to vindicate or an ideal to pursue nothing personal is allowed to stand in the way. He has several beautiful friendships among the men of his own age, Charles Wicksteed, William Gaskell, John Hamilton Thom, John James Tayler; and these he loved with a devotion as rare as it was constant. And no one who ever heard him speak of the man to whose memory he dedicated his "Study of Religion," can ever forget the tenderness that stole into his austere face, flushed his pale features, and brought the tear into his introspective yet forward-looking eye at the mention of "the friendship" and "the companionship in duty and in study" which for thirty years made his lofty not a solitary way. He had many admirers among pupils, though perhaps but one pre-eminent friend. Richard Holt Hutton was not only a great editor, but also a clear if not a subtle thinker, a man of intensely religious and ethical nature who achieved much for the political education of his time because of the fine fusion in him of spiritual emotion with moral passion. Hutton was indeed an admiring disciple, but it is doubtful whether he ever fully appreciated what he owed to Martineau, to the solicitude that watched over his forming, and never ceased to regard wistfully the intelligence it had done so much to discipline. But Martineau's heart was given to ideas rather than to persons. This finds its best known, though not its most characteristic, illustration in what we may term the affair of his sister Harriet. She must have been—to use the very descriptive phrase which the elder Mrs. Carlyle applied to her own son:—"Gey ill to dae wi'," which means "not easy to get along with." But this temper of hers came from the same sort of moral integrity or ultra-conscientiousness which we have so frequent occasion to admire in her brother James. A saying of hers was once reported to me by a friend who heard it, which shows the womanly instinct that guided her moral judgments. They had been talking of a distinguished philosopher and the affection he had entertained for his wife while she was still the wife of another. Harriet Martineau broke out in impassioned speech somewhat to this effect: "He had no right to indulge his affection at the expense of an innocent household. He had found a woman fairly contented with her lot, with a husband and a family living in comfortable good feeling each toward the other. When he realised that his affection for this woman was growing into a passion he ought to have withdrawn from her society and stamped out his feeling for her, but instead he continued within her spell and allowed

"it to become mutual and so potent that it alienated the wife from the husband, and broke up the family." And the man she thus severely censured she refused to count among her friends. The anecdote is repeated not to be endorsed, but simply to show that in Harriet Martineau there was a kind of moral intolerance which could not have been unknown to her brother. He had himself the same characteristic, though he had it under more masculine control. But the brother and sister were too much alike in their moral tendencies to get along easily together. Like a woman she was apt to defend opinions which were those of a person she admired, just as she was ready to despise the person who held opinions from which she strongly dissented. When she fell under the influence of Atkinson and their "Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development" were published, her brother as one of the editors of the "Prospective Review" had to consider whether he should examine the book. He knew the temper of his sister, but he knew also what loyalty to his own beliefs required; and he elected to defend these beliefs even though his sister should suffer from his criticism. He judged that his public duties as reviewer and teacher did not allow him to be silent, however much he would have preferred as a brother not to speak. Those who have never had to choose between his alternatives may be fitly left to judge him, I will not.

Dr. Martineau was born a Unitarian. The body is small and recent, but its history is ancient. He had inherited with his blood the special French and English types of Presbyterian character, notably their severity of conscience, their love of order, and their devotion to an ideal faith and duty. It has been said that small bodies are less national than large, that they tend to be limited in spirit, local and prejudiced in mind, thinking and feeling like men who live outside the great streams which flow through such broad channels as the Church and the Universities. But have not some of our brightest and largest spirits been formed in small societies? In proportion to their numbers the Friends have rendered more pre-eminent service to England than any other body of Christian men. Their founder taught them to live for great moral and religious ends in total indifference to forms whether religious or social. From William Penn they learned to respect the lower races and to be ready to deal with them as possessing the rights and the capabilities of men. In Elizabeth Fry was expressed their sense of obligation to the criminal and the outcast classes, the conviction that the man in the prison was still a man whose misdeeds could not justify us in forgetting our own duties. From Joseph Lancaster came the feeling of obligation to the ignorant, to the children that needed to be educated and schooled. Without men like Joseph Sturge the emancipation of the slaves would have been impossible, or the feeling, which has done so much to ennoble our race, that where England reigned the freedom must rule, and freedom could not rule where justice was

denied. John Bright taught us the truth that freedom,—and not the force that remedied no ill,—was the true cure for disorder, that law ought not to favour special classes or enrich the few while impoverishing the many. I have a profound reverence for societies like these, whose services have enlarged both the idea and the practice of humanity, and given the poor in all lands where English power has been felt cause to remember the higher motives of the English people.

In a less degree—as it seems to me—the same claim of a largeness which is more than national may be made on behalf of the Unitarian societies. They have not preserved their early faith, but they have maintained and indeed augmented their early enthusiasm for humanity, so that we may say that just as they have ceased to emphasise traditional dogmas they have emphasised moral qualities, patriotic and public service. It does not fall to me to describe the history or to indicate the forces that have worked for change in the Unitarian mind. One may protest against tyranny till the very idea of freedom is lost, and it is possible that the Unitarian Churches have so loved freedom that they have come to forget that it is rather a means to an end than an end in itself. This may or may not be so; but one thing seems clear: That James Martineau owed much of his power and the lucid tenacity with which he fought for his beliefs possibly to the paucity of the beliefs he held, but still more to the splendid moral past they embodied to his imagination. He had not a whole ecclesiastical system to defend, nor could he invoke such a system in his own defence. If his beliefs were limited his belief was intense, rooted in the very marrow of his mind. While men were thinking of the Eucharist, of the priestly office, of absolution and the confessional, he was thinking of God and how to vindicate the faith in Him and His being to faith. A distinguished Anglican, long gone from our midst, once asked me if I did not think Martineau more than any other man fulfilled Novalis' aphorism as to Spinoza, a "God-intoxicated man." It was true; God possessed him, inspired him, ruled him. His ambition was to hear God speak in conscience and to obey the law God proclaimed there. And this ambition Martineau largely owed to his Unitarian birth and breeding. His Church in the form he knew it had been made by Joseph Priestley. Priestley was a man of courage as well as conviction; who had, with a fearlessness which made the criticisms of Principal Robertson or of Lord Hailes seem flaccid and feeble, though with less knowledge and courtesy than Bishop Watson displayed, written against Gibbon's famous Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters in the "Decline and Fall." In Martineau's own city learned families like the Taylors had lived and given distinction both to the city and the society. In secondary education men like Lant Carpenter had done for the dissenters what schools of prouder name and less efficiency were doing for the Anglican Church. In the Seminary at York where Martineau was educated, men taught

whose characters would have distinguished any society. Of one of them, Martineau said, "He never justified a prejudice; he never "misdirected our admiration; he never hurt an innocent feeling or "overbore a serious judgment; and he set up within us a standard "of Christian scholarship to which it must ever exalt us to aspire." And as to the other he said the late Dean Stanley was justified in placing him "in the same line with Blomfield and Thirlwall," for he stood "so far above the level of either vanity or dogmatism, that "cynicism itself could not think of them in his presence."

But Dr. Martineau concerns us here mainly under two aspects, as a divine and as a philosopher. As a divine he was at once a theological critic and a religious teacher. I use the term "critic" deliberately, for in theology he was nothing if not critical. Certainly "positive" would be the last term one could here apply to him. He interpreted, construed and conserved no single doctrine specially distinctive of the Christian religion. But he effected radical changes not only in the form but in the very material of the faith his people had lived by. His primary interests were philosophical and his theology was not so much interpreted through his philosophy as adapted to it. When he became a minister he found the Unitarian Churches with certain fixed traditions, certain very defined beliefs, and a temper which controversy had made watchful and quick, critical and dogmatic, equally swift to assail a foe or defend a belief. Its philosophy had been more varied than its theology, and while to its contemporaries its spirit was more critical than conservative, to us its conservatism is more remarkable and pronounced than its criticism. On the dogmatic side its views have been throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century what were termed Socinian, towards the end of the century they tended to become Unitarian. The distinction between these terms may be thus indicated: the Socinian view was the more soteriological—*i.e.*, it emphasised the work of Christ and endeavoured to show how it gained in humanity and became more agreeable to reason by His person and action being read in historical rather than in purely supernatural terms. But the Unitarian was more theological—*i.e.*, it seized the conception of deity, emphasised and criticised the incredibilities of the orthodox idea of God, and endeavoured to accommodate the idea of Him to the reason which deism had done so much to make shallow and superficial. The changes had been accomplished mainly by the extraordinary and aggressive energy of Priestley, and corresponded to the adoption of a philosophy which agreed more with his doctrines than with the traditions of his Church. That philosophy was empirical, especially as empiricism had been interpreted by Hartley, and seriously modified the fundamental ideas of "spirit" as applied to God and of "soul" as used of man. But Priestley's philosophy, though it had all the aggressive qualities of his combative and not always tolerant personality, had been worked

into harmony with the doctrines which had been called Socinian and were now coming to be known as Unitarian. The change of emphasis, though its effect did not at once appear, could not but modify the traditional ideas. These had avowedly been built upon the Scriptures and assumed their authority. This authority the new philosophy had at first made all the more necessary. The empiricism which deduces religious ideas from impressions of sense has to deal with this fundamental problem;—grant that man is without any ideas till the senses convey them into his understanding, how shall the knowledge of God and the obligations of religion be got into his mind? This made it all the more necessary that the grand organ of religious knowledge should be outward, authoritative, created by the act and the inspiration of God. Hence the Unitarian was most conservative in his interpretation and—as we may now say—though it was not said then, deferential in his use of Scripture. Some most conservative as well as enlightened critics were reckoned by Dr. Martineau among his spiritual ancestry. Thus he spoke of one of his tutors as “a master of the true Lardner type,” referring to Nathaniel Lardner whose discussions on “The credibility of the Gospel History” made William Paley’s “Evidences of Christianity” possible. But besides the authority of Scripture the Unitarian theology held strongly to the belief in the miraculous, especially as expressed in the resurrection of Christ, to an ethical doctrine of His death, and to a supernatural, though not a divine theory of His person. A subscribing, then, is not the only conservative church. A church may be all the more conservative that it is non-subscribing; and it is the simple historical truth to say that James Martineau began his ministry in the most conservative of all the religious societies of England and this conservatism he exemplified. He censured in his earliest book—which deals with “Reason, the Bible, and the Church”—the rationalists of Germany “for having preferred, by convulsive efforts of interpretation, to compress the memoirs of Christ and His apostles into “the dimensions of ordinary life, rather than admit the operation of “miracle on the one hand, or proclaim their abandonment of “Christianity on the other.” He also held that “in no intelligible “sense can anyone who denies the supernatural origin of the religion “of Christ be termed a Christian.” His mind soon reacted against this conservatism and the reaction was hastened by the change in his philosophical principles. As became one not only of a mathematical mind and mechanical training but one who had been educated in a society where the influence of Priestley was all-pervasive, he had “carried into logical and ethical problems the maxims and “postulates of physical knowledge,” and had moved within the narrow lines drawn by the philosophical instructions of the class-room “interpreting human phenomena by the analogy of external nature”; and served in willing captivity “the ‘empirical’ and ‘necessarian’ mode

"of thought even though 'shocked' by the dogmatism and acrid "humours of certain distinguished representatives."

But the transcendentalism which was native to his mind soon emancipated him from this yoke, and the more stress he threw upon the freedom of man the more he needed an absolute law or categorical imperative to guide him in his choices. But the more emphasis Martineau threw upon the law man carried within, the more did he feel himself bound to emancipate man from the traditions and the dogmas which gave him a law from without. From this ~~came~~ the gradual surrender of those dogmas or positions which had been a note of the Unitarian Churches. The miracles were surrendered, the moral pre-eminence of Christ was affirmed, but His physical transcendence denied. Authority was taken from without and planted within, and the system of the later Martineau stood out as one which was formally Christian but essentially theistic and ethical, a refined and beautiful individualism (for the individual it expressed was refined in spirit and beautiful in character) but it was only nominally Christian.

Martineau's function as a religious teacher had a very different course. The more he emancipated himself from the traditions and doctrines of his school the freer became his religious spirit, the more eloquent his religious speech. The successive hymn-books that he issued, his "Endeavours after the Christian Life," and his "Hours of "Thought" showed how strong was the passion of devotion within him and how rich the expression it craved. It appears at every point; the traces of the friend who perhaps more than any other contributed to his emancipation, W. E. Channing, whose "pure "and powerful soul" rested in the immovable faith "that moral "perfection is the essence of God and the supreme end for man." One of Martineau's most impressive essays is on "Personal Influences "in Present Theology," and were one to select the influences that mainly contributed to the formation of the man, we should place together Channing, Emerson, Theodore Parker and Schleiermacher. But pre-eminently within himself in his own rich and beautiful nature were deposited the seeds that made him the religious teacher he became. He told us more than once that when he sought religious inspiration it was not to the thinkers of his own school or the teachers of his own faith that he went, but to the great mystics and saints of other communions. In this he was perhaps rather less than just to the society which claimed him. Take out of his history men like W. E. Channing and he would neither have had the religion nor the outlook that made him the teacher he was.

But as we have already hinted, the main significance of Martineau as a thinker was philosophical rather than theological. It is as an interpreter of our ultimate philosophic and ethical ideas as constituting the basis and essence of religion that he has a claim upon our grateful remembrance. He realised, as no other man of his age did, the

intellectual worth and the moral value of the theistic idea. If it be true that every man is born either a Platonist or an Aristotelian, a Stoic or an Epicurean, then we may say that Martineau was by intellectual necessity a Platonist and by moral compulsion a Stoic. As the one his endeavour was to discover and express our highest transcendental ideal—which to him was no mere abstraction, but living and concrete being—the God who was the soul of nature. As the other he was ever in search of a moral law which should bind men to the throne of the eternal and imperatively command the person it so bound. His emancipation from the earlier empirical and necessarian philosophy into which he had come by inheritance was due to what we may call the growth of his own nature, which was essentially too moral to live in bondage to physical conditions or ancestral causes, and too intellectual to be satisfied with anything less than a rational interpretation of the universe. He was indeed so constituted that he could as little have been a sceptic like Hume, or a Necessarian like Priestley—as Hume could have been a moralist like Kant, or Priestley a transcendental dreamer like Coleridge. And the very growth of Martineau's mind was conditioned and governed by the evolution of collective and objective thought which gave him his opportunity. In his early days the rival forces in English philosophy were represented by Hamilton and the elder Mill. And it is curious that alike in their difference and in their agreement they furnished the antithesis needed for the dialectical development and the reasoned expression of his own mind. Hamilton's great classical contribution to the discussion of our highest philosophical idea had been published just as Martineau was entering upon his ministry, and about the same time James Mill's "Analysis of the Human Mind" had appeared. It would hardly be correct to say that they differed in their psychology but agreed in their metaphysics. But it very nearly approached this point. Hamilton stood by the old Scotch philosophy which had come to him in criticism of Hume from Thomas Reid, through Dugald Stewart, and argued that perception must be presentative rather than representative. But he took Kant's doctrine of relativity and argued that in its ultimate expression thought must be so conditioned that it could never know the Infinite. Hamilton never brought into relationship the two parts of his system, and should have explained how the knowledge of the real world—which he owed to Reid—could be reconciled with the doctrine of relativity in the higher knowledge which he owed to Kant. The theological deductions from Hamilton's doctrine of the absolute were of two possible kinds: One of these was drawn by Mansel, and signified that since we could not know we could not criticise the abstruser and more fundamental doctrines of faith, and must therefore rely for our knowledge of them and for their authenticity to us upon the authority by which they were revealed and authenticated or defined. The other alternative deduction was drawn by Mr. Herbert Spencer

and signified that since we could not know the ultimate cause or the unconditioned reality, we had better be content with our ignorance and explain the universe we could know in the terms of matter, motion and force. The alternatives were equally offensive to Martineau; in his earlier period he contested the first, in his later period he contested the second. In a universe where will was free causation could not be unknown, or where conscience was supreme in man there could not be an unethical nature or laws that were indifferent to morality. There is no finer example in the history of thought of the value of the theistic temper or of the victorious force that lives in moral idealism. It is largely owing to him that our age was not swept off its feet by the rising tide of materialistic and pseudo-scientific speculation. The qualities of his rhetoric made him the more efficient an apologist for his theistic idea, and clothed it in an elegance of form that commended it to the fastidious in literary feeling. He commended it with a fervour that made it impressive to the religious emotions. He justified his criticism by psychology, and made the man who lived in an age of doubt realise the intellectual energy and the ethical force that lived in our ultimate religious ideas. The services he rendered on this side of his activity are hardly capable of critical appreciation. I am content for my own part to speak as a pupil and as a distant admirer, and say that at critical moments the name of James Martineau was a tower of strength to the feeble, and his words—like Luther's—were not only half battles, but equal to whole victories.

I have said little or nothing touching one side of his activity. Literary criticism was never his strong point, least of all was he strong in that which concerned such a literature as the historian of the Christian origins has to handle. He was indeed deficient in historical imagination, though abstract ideas he could embody in imaginative forms. He belongs to the great religious personalities of the nineteenth century. He did in England something of the same work that Schleiermacher achieved in Germany. Their philosophies differed, their personalities agreed. He was more a contrast than a parallel to John Henry Newman. Newman was never happy in the presence of conscience; Martineau was never happy away from it. The one pursued an unwearied quest for an external authority in religion; the other unweariedly argued that we had within us an ample and adequate authority and needed no other. Newman had a greater sense of sin than Martineau, and his Church was an institution for the reconciliation of man and God. Martineau had a finer imagination, a purer and more spiritual nature than Newman, and his quest was for the sovereignty of God, the reign of a categorical imperative over his soul. He had much less historical insight than Maurice; but far more philosophical lucidity, the reason that could see the relations between the Maker and the man He had made. He had none of the casuistry which made it so agreeable to Maurice to reconcile the revolted mind of to-day to the history

or the books or the symbols from which it had revolted. But he saw as Maurice never did into the godlikeness of man and the manlikeness of God—i.e., he correlated the two in a synthesis which the soul of the other may have desired but never achieved. Curiously indeed he had more affinity with Herbert Spencer than with either of the religious thinkers just named. Spencer's view of the universe seemed to him inadequate and unreal, and his view seemed to Spencer fantastic and arbitrary. But both men found everywhere a single energy, though to Spencer it might be an unconditioned force, and to Martineau a divine will.

In any case, we gratefully recognise the services he rendered to the theology and the religion of his time. He was a prophet of the ideal and the ethical, and we can devoutly say: Would that all the men who prophesy were as pure in thought, as noble in purpose, and as spiritual in imagination as he.

A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

THE NEW EDUCATION IN CHINA.

OF all the great events which have happened in our time, those men who are the best acquainted with China and the neighbouring nations agree that the greatest is the Renaissance of the Far East. Notwithstanding some recrudescence of Boxerism, obstruction by the Conservatives and the wiles of some foreign diplomats, China has sanctioned the opening of several trunk railways, of inland navigation and of mining, all matters of incalculable importance. The Chinese Imperial Post is gradually extending, with railways and steamboats, and will be another enormous boon to the Middle Kingdom. The starting of newspapers and magazines among the Chinese is also capable of doing wonders for them. The visit of three of the young Manchu Princes to Europe, America and Japan, was, in China's present stage of development, an event of great moment. The effect of residence in Japan on those reformers who led in China immediately after the Chino-Japanese war, and the wide-spread Japanese Government propaganda in favour of an East Asian league, whereby Japan and China and as many of the Asiatic nations as they can get are to join against the aggressions of the West, are also strong factors in the new China of to-day.

But incomparably the greatest of these far-reaching movements is the change in the character of Chinese Education. I propose in this article to give some idea of this reformation, which at no distant day will react on everything in the world, for mind controls matter and right thought must precede right action, and the Chinese factor is bound to have a large place in the future problems of the world. Some of my reasons for holding such a view will be found below. In May, 1901, a missionary, whose advice the Chinese Plenipotentiaries had sought in the settlement which followed the Shansi massacres, suggested that the best settlement for Shansi would be the establishment of modern colleges for teaching universal knowledge, as it would remove the chief cause of antipathy to foreigners, namely, ignorance.

This proposal the Chinese Government agreed to; and later on it decided to adopt the same principle for the whole empire. For example: An edict on Reform in Education, published by the Chinese Government on the 29th of August, 1901, commanded the abolition of essays or homilies on the Chinese classics in examinations for literary degrees, and substituted for them essays and articles on modern matters, Western laws, and political economy. The same procedure was also to be observed in the future in the examination of candidates for office.

By the same Edict it was ordered that as the methods in use for gaining military degrees,—namely, trials of strength with stone-weights, agility with the great sword, and marksmanship with the bow and arrow on foot and on horseback—were not of the slightest value in turning out men for the army, where knowledge of strategy and military science were the *sine quâ non* for military officers, these trials of strength, etc., should be thenceforth abolished for ever.

Another Edict for the establishment of new universities, colleges and schools in China was published on the 12th of September, 1901. It commanded all existing colleges in the empire to be turned into schools and colleges of Western learning. Each provincial capital was to have a University like the Peking University, whilst the colleges in the prefectures and districts of the various provinces were to be schools and colleges of the second and third classes.

Another Edict, for sending students to be educated abroad, was published on the 17th of September, 1901. It commanded the Viceroys and Governors of other provinces of the Empire to follow the example of the Viceroy Liu Kun-yi of Liangkiang, Chang Chih-tung of Hukuang, and Kuei Chun (Manchu) of Szechuen, in sending young men of scholastic promise and ability abroad to study any branch of Western science or art best suited to their abilities and tastes, so that they might in time return to China and place the fruits of their knowledge at the service of the empire.

Those who are acquainted with China know very well that many of the Edicts of the Government do not amount to much more than waste paper. In this case, however, it has not been so. The Imperial College in Shansi has been opened, with some 300 students, in the hope that it will develop into one of the provincial Universities. It is divided into a Chinese and a Foreign Department. All the candidates for admission must have the Chinese degree of B.A. After the students have completed their Chinese course they pass on to the Foreign Department. The Foreign Department has six foreign professors and six Chinese professors who hold diplomas of Western learning. Besides this there is a staff of six translators of university text-books into Chinese, superintended by a foreigner.

The Edicts have not been a dead letter in the other provinces either; though there has been enormous difficulty in getting a sufficient

number of professors to teach or of text-books to use. Some Chinamen who under the old system of education would not have got more than £30 per annum now get £240, and there are not enough of them. At the lowest estimate text-books and books of general knowledge of the West to the value of £25,000 must have been sold during this year alone. Books to the value of £6,000 were sold by the Society for the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge.

I subjoin a list of the new colleges opened in ten different provinces in 1901-2:—

Provinces.	Funds provided.
Chekiang	50,000 strings of cash per annum (about Taels 50,000, or over £6,000).
Honan	30,000 Taels per annum.
Kweichow	20,000 Taels per annum.
Fookien	50,000 Mex. Dollars per annum (about £5,000).
Kiangsi.....	over 60,000 Mex. Dollars per annum.
Kwangtung	100,000 Taels per annum.
Soochow	several tens of thousands of Taels.
Nanking	—
Shantung	50,000 Taels per annum.
Shansi	50,000 Taels per annum.
Chihli	—
Prefectural Colleges in Soochow	Taels 10,000.
Prefectural Colleges in Shantung under R. C. Bishop Anzer,	Taels 2,000

This comes to about half a million of Taels annually for the whole Empire for modern education. Such is the new departure, which dates from 1901-2.

But the important question presents itself, What can the Chinese make of Western learning at this stage? What kind of knowledge do they seek? In replying to this, nothing will more clearly reveal the true condition of the Chinese official mind to-day than to transcribe some of the questions put to the students at the triennial examinations this year.

But before giving the questions I must explain what these triennial examinations are. Once every year the Chancellors of Education, of whom there is one for each province, hold examinations in each of the ten prefectural cities of the province for all candidates for the Chinese B.A. degree. But every third year there is a special Imperial examiner sent to the capital of each of the eighteen provinces to examine for the Chinese M.A. degree. All the candidates must attend their respective provincial capitals. The examinations in all the eighteen provinces are held simultaneously on the 8th of the 8th

Moon (September). In round numbers some 10,000 students attend each of these examinations in the maritime and riverine provinces, which are the most populous, whilst the other provinces have from five to 8,000 each, making up a grand total of 150,000 students with a B.A. degree—a fact unique on the face of the earth.

This year was one in which these triennial examinations were held. The following are some of the questions put. I set them out here, as they will pourtray the present mental attitude of the rulers of China far better than any general description:—

IN THE PROVINCES OF KIANGSU AND ANHUI.

1. As Chinese and Western laws differ and Western people will not submit to Chinese punishments, what ought to be done so that China may be mistress in her own country like other nations?

2. According to International law has anyone a right to interfere with the internal affairs of any foreign country?

3. When did a gold standard arise in commerce, and why is gold getting dearer? Who are the leaders of the gold and of the silver standard? In the payment of indemnity this rise in gold price will make an immense difference. What is the remedy?

4. The West encourages agriculture and commerce and has many books on them. The Viceroyalty of Nanking is very large; how shall these books be best procured in Chinese?

5. Western science originally came from China. This lost learning should now be revived.

IN THE PROVINCES OF HUPEH AND HUNAN.

1. The Sovereignty of Russia is absolute, of England limited, of America elective. Which of these ideas would be most useful or injurious to China?

2. When Japan reformed her government after Western methods, some say she was right, others say she made mistakes. State these clearly and show how China should proceed.

3. China, since her Treaties were signed, has dealt generously with the Church, but the Church gets worse and worse. On examining into how Japan has regulated matters since its reformation in 1868 we find there have been no missionary troubles there. On examining into Bismarck's method in Germany, it appears that he treated the Church with lenity and severity just as he liked, and thus secured good for his country. Now it is necessary to search into the

cause of our own disease and fix regulations for the repression of this hidden evil and maintain our integrity at home.

IN THE PROVINCE OF CHEKIANG.

1. As Western education arose from Greece, give the rise and progress of education in Greece.

2. What are the Western sources of economic prosperity, and as China is now so poor what would be the best for China?

3. As Western law arose from Rome, give the outline of its rise and progress; and as China suffers much from extra-territoriality, explain how China can get back control of all its country like other nations.

4. In the West land-surveying is most important. Owing to the great difference of physical conditions in all continents there arise different customs and habits; what ought China to learn from this?

5. In the Science of the West new laws of nature and new machinery are daily being discovered. In the last Commercial Treaty foreigners are allowed to open up manufactures in the interior of China. Thus China loses another source of wealth: what ought to be done to avert this?

IN THE PROVINCE OF SHANTUNG.

1. The eager competition in trade is called by Western countries commercial war. In what way should China form a plan to oppose this?

2. The taxes in foreign countries are very heavy, and yet the people pay them willingly. We should inquire into the reason of this so that the resources of the Government may be increased.

3. According to international law, foreigners temporarily residing should be protected. This principle should be carefully inculcated in order that foreigners in our midst should feel at rest.

4. State the advantages of constructing railways in Shantung.

5. State the important effect of the study of chemistry on agriculture.

It is this renaissance of 150,000 student candidates for the Chinese M.A. degree, and of about ten times that number of student candidates for the B.A. degree, making a grand total of 1,650,000—say a million and a half—of Chinese students, who have proved their intellectual capacity not to be inferior to that of the white race, it is the turning of

the faces of this grand intellectual army Westward, which is the greatest event of modern times. Shall this army be antagonistic to the West, or will it only stimulate a healthy rivalry in all departments between the East and the West? Shall the rivalry develop on the low savage plane of brute force, or on the more civilised lines of ancient religions, which are only ancient systems of education according to the then light of the world? Or shall it waste its energies by foolishly doubting everything because the ancient discoveries and teachings in religion, government and science were not final? Or shall it follow the higher course pointed out both by Confucius and by Jesus Christ, viz., that our happiness and our prosperity are to be found in always following the best? Confucius says, "Don't rest in anything but the best." Jesus Christ says, "Be ye perfect as your Father in Heaven is perfect." How the Chinese students of the East and the West will utilise the new knowledge acquired the future alone will reveal. But when we remember how much has been done in 30 years by Japan, a country having only one-tenth the area and population of China, it is clear that we have before us at least the beginning of one of the most stupendous facts of the modern world.

Shanghai.

TIMOTHY RICHARD.

KINGS AND QUEENS.

WHILE we were waiting in the Abbey of Westminster for the Coronation hour, while most of my neighbours stood craning their necks and straining their eyes to get a full view of all the peers and peeresses, I remained thoughtful and somewhat awed. My thoughts wandered towards the long line of Kings and Queens who had been crowned in that very same place and came up to that altar, followed by the great men who are their companions in death and in the words of song and history; now their tombs alone were there to witness the glory for which they had toiled and wrought deeds famous and high. Besides, I could not help reflecting on the problems which are now of such deep import, how far the relations between a monarch and his subjects must be ruled by ceremonies and pageants, and whether the symbolism that the Middle Ages have bequeathed to our century, the outward pomp and splendour which surround a sovereign, are really necessary to exalt his grandeur and keep the institution of royalty from decline. Are the emblazoned coats of arms, the long train of courtiers and valets, in some instances invented some three or four hundred years ago, not offensive to the modern eye, even if they only make their appearance on state occasions? Is the real meaning of a crown, resting on the purple cushion and reverently borne by dukes and lords, as clear to the mind now as it used to be at the time when the golden circlet really was deemed to enclose the vast realms and seas where the King reigned supreme? How should we in a few minutes be able to behold with chastened spirits the sudden resurrection of epochs so long gone by? The demon of democracy appeared to lurk behind each pillar of the stately Church. The Present was about to enter into the lists and would try to thrust the Past into the shadow whence it was endeavouring to come forth; and the battle in our souls promised to be a rough one between tradition and civilisation.

Why, we were going to behold royalty environed by all the attributes most sacred and most ancient, by all those signs of power, mortal, and

divine, that no revolution has yet been able to destroy. Our eager hands, feverish from the labour of raising up new dogmas and new aims, would almost touch one of the strongest links of the long chain whose steadfast sound we have heard along all the halls of memory, and whose iron still binds the Kings to their thrones and the priests to their faith. The apparition would be beautiful indeed of so many things that are doomed not to perish, and yet that we forget and sometimes even are apt to dally with in act or speech. Yet I felt afraid and I prayed: I prayed the Present not to mar and blight the Past; I prayed my own thoughts to allow me the full comprehension of the scene that I was about to witness; I prayed the bells to sound sweetly, and the singers to sing strains of melody unutterably divine, because the mocking demon of modern days was then behind the pillars and would laugh if we failed to enter into the deep solemnity and pathos of the hour. Everything I had read about the old golden days, about the dames and troubadours and vassals as glorious as their liege, I strove to recall, to become a believer in all the simple creeds that made heroes and saints as numerous as great inventors and learned men are to-day. And as the magnificent vision burst upon our sight—as if upon the leaves of a missal the legends related had awakened to life, as if the dazzling processions painted upon the stained glasses of old cathedrals now glistened and moved before us—we felt completely absorbed in the meaning of the ceremony. We asked not whence came our enthusiasm and joy, and we knew that the Past was victorious, or rather that the Past and the Present now walked hand in hand, were merged in oblivion of antagonism and warfare. All fear had subsided. Civilisation that day gave way before tradition. We stopped not to consider how long the victory would last; we were no longer the spectators of an admirable pageant, but we also were like unto the personages who stepped forth from the mists of ballads, romances and dreams, from some gorgeous tapestry framed with foliage and wild beasts, where they had long slumbered with eyes wide open that now looked vividly into our own.

The knights and ladies now were quite real, and moved about with a grace all their own; they accomplished a duty which had been the same for centuries, and would be celebrated exactly in the same way for a great number of centuries to come. By a strange phenomenon of transposition we began to consider their faces, their voices and steps, as things that belonged to a world far-off indeed, and the inanimate part of their appearance, the costumes, devices, swords and escutcheons, alone vibrated with life intense and deep; far better than words and countenances they represented those who had created them and made them illustrious on battlefield or in the towering feudal castle whose shadows caused the enemy to tremble as he passed beneath the well-guarded turrets and heard the sound of tournament and revelry stir the strong walls. Even more than the blood and

demeanour of the lords who wore them, these costumes and signs of ancient birth bore testimony to the merit of ancestors who had won the right to wear them proudly by the generous display of valour and blood, of wisdom and good faith. No, the rustling of the long velvet trains, the soft milky whiteness of ermine and pearls, the glare of gold and purple, shone not then with the sole aim of adorning a King's sacred duty. They came from afar, like wanderers, like pilgrims all bent on the same end, to mirror the shrine of royalty and explain what rights and fetters chained the crown to the head of the chosen one, of the man who wore it by the will of the nation and of God. Thus our searching eyes summoned from the records of history monarchs and followers, and bade them walk along the aisles where the glistening train moved harmoniously. We well knew that in a few hours the spell would be broken, that all the lords and knights would return to their comfortable homes, lit up by electric lamps, and where thick carpets would hush the sound of imperious tread ; we were all aware that those same faces whose features had been ennobled by the glimmer of the coronet would look wonderingly into the real mirrors of their Louis XV. *salon*, and with a smile almost of pity peers and peeresses would ask themselves how they had had the courage to play a part in public, to resemble so much the portraits of sires and dames who followed them with benevolent gaze along the halls of their Norman or Elizabethan mansions. They would lay aside the golden mask and return to reality , in a few weeks they would only remember that during a couple of hours they had committed a very interesting anachronism. And perhaps they would even deny in their talk about the past event that they had loved their King better from the moment when they saw the consecrated oil tremble between his eyebrows, and the orb tremble in his hand, crushed by the heavy emblem of omnipotence. The glamour would fall, the spell be broken, the past return to oblivion. Yet who would deny that the essence of monarchy and its signification are bound strongly to this worship of a sovereign's laws and rights, that every king who has endeavoured to part from the traditions of his rank may be said to have abdicated the best portion of his power? Privileges and rank are due alone to the beauty and poetry spread upon them by the heroism of those who first deserved to obtain the foremost place among their countrymen. Though it would prove no easy task nowadays to enforce upon a Court and a nation the severe rules of etiquette that swayed the atmosphere where a monarch breathed, still the monarch would be likely to see all natural attachment, loyalty and homage drop off were he to throw off the customs and rites to which he owes his title and his dignity. However hard may be the struggle between tradition and civilisation, a King must perforce side with tradition and confront the monster instead of endeavouring to tame him. Of course, we cannot expect the old tyranny to keep hold of modern monarchs, nor do we relish the accords,

still extant of the dreadful martyrdom they endured in Spain and even in France. Besides, the transition would appear too violent to modern minds and feelings when, issuing from a Palace whose every dweller would be smothered by the weight of a terrible etiquette, we mingled in or heard the debates of modern parliaments, where language and pursuits are equally free and even sometimes trespass on the grounds of hot discussion and revolutionary desires. The days cannot return when it required a few months' apprenticeship to cross the marble threshold of Versailles, and when Mary Beatrice of Modena, James II.'s wife and exiled Queen of England, was quite dismayed by the number of Court rules she had to learn before coming face to face with the King of France, her equal and the friend of her unfortunate husband. During the following reign a Princess belonging to the Royal House of France declared that when she renounced all the pomp and glory of her rank in order to become a nun, she was frightened, in casting a glance over the world, to find how much she had lived apart from reality, what high barriers separated her from the throng, and she had the greatest difficulty in descending a staircase by herself. "I was "amazed," said she, "to go down ten steps without being supported "on either side, as I always had two chamberlains to help me up or "down the *grand escalier* of Versailles. I do not remember ever "having walked through a room or a garden by myself." This anecdote and many others give us but a feeble idea of the thralldom in which royalty was held by its own servitors and supporters. As every one knows, the Spaniards excelled in their science of changing the rôle of a monarch to a mere mechanism, and the Kings of Spain have all tasted the bitter tyranny of their *alta servidumbre*, as even to this day the courtiers are called in Madrid. In the land of Torquemada and *auto-da-fés* the fanaticism of etiquette was almost as violent as the fanaticism of religion. The young Duke of Anjou, who left his grandfather's Court to become King of Spain, is said to have often sighed after the freedom that was allowed to him at Versailles, and Louis XIV. was pained to hear from the envoys that he sent in embassy to his grandson how really changed the young man was. In fact, the French ambassador declared to some friends that the *ci-devant* Duc d'Anjou had fallen into utter imbecility, could not move a finger without the permission of his chamberlains and acted like one in a dream. The lack of interest, the complete apathy depicted on his face formed a heartrending contrast with all the ceremonies he was obliged to perform or support. And this was not the first occasion on which French courtiers were allowed to peep into the Court regulations in Spain. A few years previously, when Anne of Austria accompanied her son Louis XIV. to the Spanish frontier, when the young King went to meet his bride the Infanta Maria Theresa, Anne, who had not seen her brother the King of Spain since she herself had crossed that frontier as a bride, meekly stipulated, when all the arrangements about the

coming interview were made, that she should be allowed to embrace her brother. Horrified at this preposterous proposition, the Spanish ambassadors called Heaven to witness how awfully the barbarous customs of the French Court had changed a Princess belonging to their noble monarch's family, and they begged hard that the Queen would refrain from making herself very disagreeable to her brother and his train. Anne promised to let things pass off in a very indifferent manner, but when she perceived the King, who had been as a father to her, she almost rushed towards him. Eagerly the Spaniards darted to prevent her, and Anne cried bitterly when she found herself alone with her ladies; then remembering what her own childhood had been, she thanked Heaven that she lived in a "barbarous Court" where at least she could give vent to her natural feelings. Louis XIV. proved a stern ruler of his household, where etiquette overcame every other consideration. He seemed to have inherited from his Spanish mother the domineering instinct of her race.

All that the Middle Ages had gathered or invented, all the magic and charm thrown over the darkness of eternal strife by fair damsels and the brave knights who entered into the lists in honour of their dames and lady-loves, all the attractive discoveries made by the crusaders as they plodded wearily from one oriental town to another, and learnt to admire the mysterious bearing of Saracen and Syrian chieftains, assembled to form the entertainment and adornment of the Western Courts. Every new reign, every victory brought in an innovation, every duchess or princess felt bound to leave after her death some lasting memory of her skill, not only in spinning and embroidering costly robes and tapestry, but also by instituting some symbol of greatness unknown before, some sign that she in her turn had felt the great aim of her race and its ambition. For instance, Mary Queen of Scots was the first to decree that white should thenceforth be the garment worn by young girls on their marriage day. Before her all the Queens of France had been married in red, and she was immediately called the "White Queen" by her subjects—a denomination which everyone declared to be of ill-omen, as the widows only had borne that name: a dowager queen in France always lay in state dressed in white for several days after her husband's death.

In the year that followed close upon Dante's immortal songs, the growing power of literature and the fine arts chased away from Court and Castle the boisterous clang of steel, and poets were soon preferred to heroes, who themselves vouchsafed to throw away helmet and spear and add a rhyme to a sonnet or a stanza to the ballad composed by the Sovereign and his Queen. Silk and lace were soon seen to float where iron had reigned in rude carelessness, and the smell of the laurel wreath was found much pleasanter when coming from a conqueror as famed for his achievements in the art of decorating a legend and writing an epic tale as in the pursuit dear to Cæsar and Napoleon.

They desired to please whose sole desire would have been to conquer had they lived in the days of their forefathers.

The Renaissance thus proclaimed an era quite unexpected and brilliant. Sovereigns, whether great or small, were fast losing the somewhat appalling character bestowed upon them by religion. Monarchy was no longer an institution massive and awful, meant to shut up and preserve from the glance of mortals the almost supernatural beings who, like the Pharaohs of old, appeared to their subjects the very embodiment of a severe and distant Divinity.

Kings consented to become the gods of a mythology, sweet and winning in their daily intercourse with their inferiors; though they retained the perfume of the incense they were accustomed to, they were allowed to look mildly upon the common herd from which they had so long been kept aloof. It is true their subjects only saw them through the golden cloud that enveloped their palaces, but they were spoken of with less terror and mystery, and their names and actions gradually reached the ears of the crowd. It is almost useless to remark that the French Court at Versailles, during the seventeenth century and until the latter part of the eighteenth, had reached the very summit, the highest ideal to which the ruler of etiquette can raise absolute monarchy. At Versailles the subtle art of Court manners, Court demeanour, and Court ceremony reached supreme perfection, and was exercised with such refinement that decay only could have followed the attainment of an ideal so complete had not cruel events cut off suddenly the sublime performance, whose every movement and gesture was studied with rare ability and care. At that moment the science of regulating a King's life entered also into the domain of spiritualism, because the laws applied to his existence and that of his entourage took possession not only of the outward individual but also of the courtier's soul. No one was deemed fit to be presented to the King and enjoy the favour of receiving a slight glance from the monarch without having sacrificed beforehand and completely his own personality. Humility and fervour were both required as the principal qualities of those who from dawn to night danced attendance on the King and on every member of his numerous family. All other thoughts had to be abolished but the hope of being agreeable in an unobtrusive way. Every iota of feeling, every shadow of self-love and dignity were thrown back, and the souls of the courtiers by slow degrees became as light and insinuating as water, and flowed round events and circumstances like small waves ever ready to advance or recede; the secret eloquence of silence, the power of a word placed at the right time in the right sentence, the rebuke given to truth by a countenance unruffled in the very face of falsehood, valour hidden under the timid smile of weakness, weakness striving to confront valour,—such were the virtues demanded from a real courtier, and to which he rarely failed to do credit. His pride consisted in the constant effort he made to lay aside

all pride ; and thus he wielded the terrible and double-edged weapon of a passiveness whose appearance was active, of unwavering smiles and flattery so graceful that through the flowered murmur the voice of a conscience in full rebellion could never be heard. And the master who ruled over such a Court felt obliged to be like unto his courtiers, to practise the same delightful deceptions and to be counted superior in the art of pleasing, even as if he expected to gain from his subjects the rewards they expected from him. When we study the memoirs of an epoch so dazzling, we well understand that the return of such strict and charming rules would be impossible in France or in any other country of Europe.

The change which is now taking place in high spheres rather appears to be in harmony with the behests of the Middle Ages. Our century—I mean the one that has just finished—will be famed for the triumph of militarism ; when literature and fine arts are now invited to Courts, these illustrious guests have to stand quietly apart and listen to some speech in which the benefits and pursuits of Peace are celebrated by Sovereigns dressed in the uniform of generals and admirals, and who boast of the valour and number of their troops. A modern King would be little respected by his brothers in royalty were he not to know how a regiment is led and a brigade commanded. Arsenals and barracks are equally familiar to them ; like their own troopers they sleep not far from the cannons, and their talk consists chiefly of the hardships they have endured together with the army that represents their force. Moreover, Sovereigns are now much inclined to lead an existence copied as much as possible from the model of ordinary life. They are tired of the solitude and dearth of an exalted position, and they are also afraid of being out of tune with the exigencies and habits of an age so widely differing from the times of remote and uncontrolled grandeur. As they cannot abandon etiquette for ever, they generally steal from the tedious task as much leisure as they can honestly get. Each of them endeavours to possess and show forth his own individual nature, and to win affection and respect without the help of that which their ancestors derived from crown and sceptre only. Thus their personal qualities and their personal failures belong to criticism and to worship. They may be loved or hated according to their own doings, their own tempers and words. Will the oldest of all human institutions come unscathed out of this perilous experiment ? Will Emperors and Kings support the gaze of the eyes that now see them bereft of the attributes which hallowed them and made all eyes blind to everything but their sacredness ? The answer to these questions can be given by the Future only, but uncertain as it is, still the problem might stir a debate thrilling with interest and very important. Will the Kings and the Queens who now dash past the heedless crowds in the rapid flash of a patent motor-car retain as much authority

over their subjects as the rulers whose stern faces towered above them from the cushioned litter, the rearing war-horse or the golden-wheeled, chariot? Who can tell? And for the moment who cares to discover? Kings themselves are little affected by the change. They readily make up for the loss of stateliness by an unusual amount of independence, which we cannot grudge them in the least.

We scarcely have the courage to reflect too deeply upon these matters and suggest in what manner the scene of *modernisme aigu* would support the right of ancient etiquette and of Sovereigns who cling to their former obligations. Moreover, we have to be grateful for the grand effort made by princes to enter into the doings and feelings of our time more closely, because since they are set upon partaking our entertainments we may hope that this disposition may lead them to a deeper insight into the troubles of those from whom they were separated by walls high and thick, and whose cry for mercy and bread could not be heard in the profound and splendid recesses of their barred dwellings.

I was a mere child still when I first was called upon to be present at Court dinners and ceremonies in my own country, and schoolroom tasks were then so fresh in my memory that my thoughts, fed with historical lore, naturally worked hard to discover the traces of history in the houses of those who were the natural depositories and heirs of all the treasures left in store for them by tradition. I then noticed how slight yet efficient was the line of separation drawn between a Sovereign and those who approached him, how gentle yet decisive the touch of look and language, destined to remind every one of the presence of one higher than the rest. Now that magnificence is almost excluded from daily life at Court. Kings and Queens have to be ever on the tip-toe of attention, and revive discipline by their demeanour and words.

Later on, as I accompanied our Queen to different Courts in Europe, I listened with all my soul to the conversation of Princesses every one of whom declared herself the happiest woman in the world when she could walk freely about and cross the crowds without being noticed; and though sometimes I wondered whether this sentiment was always sincere, I was obliged to acknowledge their perfect truthfulness when I saw the high-born ladies loiter in tailor-made dresses through the avenues of their parks, in search of nothing else but absolute freedom and bracing air. No, they were not only obeying the contagion of a passing fashion, these Princesses who appeared to be bored to death every time that they had to assume an aspect meant to inspire awe, and I confessed to myself that they cared little for the inspirations of secret atavism.

The small Courts in Germany have for the most part still preserved in full bloom the flower of perfect etiquette and ceremonious politeness, whose emblem is alive in many a quaint town that climbs like a procession towards the summit of the hill where the *Schloss* or the *Burg* looks

down upon it somewhat disdainfully. And the souls of the people have also kept this habit of ever mounting in reverence towards the inhabitants of these feudal castles. Around their worm-eaten thrones the vapour of incense floats in thin clouds, as soft as those whose glow shone in the Middle Ages. In the days when Wolfgang von Goethe was a young man and described the Coronation of the German Emperor at Frankfort, where he saw the pageant from the window of a tiny student's chamber, the small German Courts were like fair garlands interwoven with the poetry of the land. A perfume of chivalry, graciousness, and elegant dilettantism was shed by the throng of courtiers who exchanged greetings and letters from one *Burg* to the other. Even now we cannot but be thrilled with a kind of tender interest and pity by the constant effort they still make to remain unaffected by the work of time; and nothing is more impressive than the ability with which they preserve this dear old tradition from the threatening contamination. There is no doubt that on the green banks of the Rhine and the Elbe, between the mountains in whose bosom Frederic Barbarossa sleeps his untroubled sleep, men may still be found who could teach accurately the exact width and length of a Court curtsy and a Court smile, that decorative smile which in the opinion of the late Empress Victoria is a gift that few Queens can boast of; as all know how, and very few know when and to whom they should smile.

It is there also that the formula must exist of all the best ingredients required to form around the person of a Sovereign an *entourage* worthy of the Prince and the land over which he rules. Like their legendary Barbarossa all these souls, simple and yet refined, are asleep, while their fingers still mechanically unravel the purple and silver threads of the Past, and their pulses do not feel the ebb and flow of Time, their ears are deaf to any other rumour but the sound of the court equipages as they mount towards the heights whence the castle frowns upon them and sheds upon the city its shadow, majestic and protecting still.

It must be here remembered that Germany is the cradle of almost all the reigning dynasties in Europe, and naturally the spirit of the land is one of devotion to Royal races and Royal personages in general. Court functionaries in Germany are so numerous, and so absolutely like each other in manners, prejudices, curtsies, bows, words and ambitions that they form a caste powerful enough to preserve and defend its rights. Their attachment to the Prince that they serve often finds vent in outward sign only, such as passive obedience, or active tyranny when they are decided not to sacrifice an inch of what they call their duty; and when we come to reflect that this duty, complicated and difficult, is very often rewarded by a look or a word only from the Sovereign and Princess to whom such affection clings, when we discover that there is little or no trace of vanity, but a holy

consciousness of the sacred part that must be played by a Prince upon earth, in all the existence of self-devotion spent at the foot of state staircases and in state boxes and carriages by multitudes of well-born men and women, we have to blame the scorn with which the innocent show of their hearty devotion is often treated by eye-witnesses and writers who have not entered into the core of the situation. How many there are, in the land of the *vergiss-mein-nicht* and the *lieder*, who have never pursued the ordinary course of life, nor vouchsafed to start in search of personal happiness, who have never married nor accepted situations liable to bring in mere pecuniary advantages, in order not to leave an old *Hochzeit* noted for his or her ill-temper, a spinster *Durchlaucht* or a fallen *Majestat*? Their touching fanaticism is expressed in a word whose translation and sense do not exist in any other but the German language, *Ehrfurcht*, and when some clever observer and good writer shall have the admirable idea of writing the history of the small Courts of Germany such as they are in the present day, many an obscure heroism will come to light. As I have already mentioned, it is in Germany only and by the German Court functionaries that sovereigns are still beloved simply because they belong to a chosen race. Modern Princes have accustomed us to love or depreciate them for their own qualities and defects; we judge their actions and they stoop to explain their aims and conduct. We read so clearly between the lines of an official falsehood that they begin to hate the usage which forces them to declare themselves satisfied when they are sad, in good health when they are ailing, and indifferent when they are anxious.

The peril and the glory of modern monarchies alike lie in the admirable movement that mingles the descendants of autocrats and disdainful sovereigns with all that the soul holds highest and noblest, the desire to feel the beauty and bitterness of every human pang. Modern Queens are even more than their spouses liable to enter into the movement that brings them closer to us. And the first among them who, being placed in a situation very peculiar indeed, gave the signal of a demeanour full of dignity and yet in accordance with the wishes and wants of our age, was a German Queen, the first German Empress belonging to the House of Brandenburg, the late Queen Augusta of Prussia, grandmother to the present Emperor. The new empire possessed no traditions, not even the slightest, and it was not likely that a big Court would be contented with the customs, however brilliant, of the Hohenzollerns. The *etiquette*, real and complicated, of the German Empire belonged to the Habsburgs, and Berlin kept proudly aloof from all imitations. It was therefore necessary to invent or inaugurate such Court rules as would be found suitable to a realm whose force came from a lordly war and the sage-diplomacy of Prince Bismarck. Besides, the splendour of the Tuileries and St. Cloud had scarcely died away, and some sparks of the embers,

extinguished under the ashes of defeat, were expected to fly from France to her victors. Queen Augusta well understood that to copy another sovereign was a vain task; she possessed a spirit and ideas of her own. Was she not the daughter-in-law of the Prussian heroine Queen Louisa, and could she not hear the voices of the sweet visions whose image still seemed to live in the Palace of Charlottenburg? Despite Bismarck's admonitions and, later on, Bismarck's fury, her mind was made up. She ordered the sound of warrior pomp, the rumours of active and stealthy diplomacy, to be silent in the presence; she waved militarism off with a gesture, imperious though graceful; she declared that the rôle of an Empress consisted not in her presence at boisterous parades; she hated the suggestion of offending her sex by riding at the head of the regiments that bore her name, and she transformed her audience room into a *salon*, a place where the best conversation might be heard, the best examples be reaped, the best shades of etiquette be observed, as etiquette was not indicated by movements and bows, but by the outburst of gallant speech and skilful phrase. Thus it was not difficult to remember that Queen Augusta was born Princess of Saxe Weimar and associated with the ancestors whose friendship proved so precious to Goethe. She had received just the kind of education that it was the habit to bestow on gifted young girls of high rank in the first part of the nineteenth century. She had read and admired Jean Jacques Rousseau, she doted on Schiller and raved about the minor poets of that romantic epoch.

The Empress was very old and I very young when I had the honour to be presented to her in the Castle of Coblenz on the banks of the Rhine, and the remembrance of that interview is fresh in my memory where the venerable apparition lives enshrined. In order to reach the summer dwelling whose whiteness glittered far off, we followed a road all astir with the humming activity of summer. Flowers wild and lightly beaten by the balmy breeze tried hard to soar above the sea of verdure; the sound of revelry and of flowing water came from the Rhine, whose current seemed to be borne along by the breath of gaily decorated boats whence came voices and laughter. Coblenz showed through the azure veil of a soft mist the shining spires of her churches, the dazzling roofs of house and mansion. When we reached the town, we crossed a small street and were quickly in front of the big white castle, while the summer radiance still trembled in our eyes and ears; the Palace stared at us, silent and grave. We were ushered into a hall whose white walls, decorated with the portraits of sedate warriors and bishops, seemed austere, notwithstanding the light colouring of the furniture and decoration. Near the broad windows that overlooked the Rhine a few tables were scattered, tables whose gilt woodwork displayed an art dear to the amateur of the eighteenth century style, and whose mirrors supported such dainty *tabatières* as were used at that time. I gazed long at the fragile pictures traced on these

tabatières, and was much struck by the contrast I discovered between the portrait of a stern archbishop who scarcely took the trouble to hide his armour under the folds of his ecclesiastical gown, and the image, more attractive, of one of those charming young abbés who at the Court of France glided gently through the intricacies of a minuet and the gems of a complimentary speech. I looked long at his clever and sarcastic face and was still holding the image in my hand, when I suddenly started to hear the folding doors open and to perceive two tall lackeys wearing the dark blue, silver and red Hohenzollern livery. They slowly pushed before them a bath chair in which the Empress was seated erect, with both hands holding fast the arms of the chair, and I could see the hands trembling, and the head trembling also, while beneath the silk folds of a shawl the meagre body appeared to shrink into nothingness. A piece of black lace was thrown over the abundant hair, elaborately dressed, and there was an air of imperious will and stubborn decision in the worn-out face, the meagre fingers and the secret shivering body hidden under the purple shawl. But the mouth twitched, the lips moved to and fro, and the voice was weary, uncertain, like the last sighs of a bell on the waters. The infinite pathos of a great struggle was before our eyes,—the struggle of immortality against death. And we also felt deeply how majestic and innumerable were the events whose remembrance crowded round that trembling head. We saw the things that the aged Empress had seen, the sudden rise of the fortunes of her race, the fall of a land and the surpassing glory obtained by the vanquished in fighting against the victor, the night when she was awakened in haste to read a message from her husband and by the flickering light of a candle first learnt that her great rank was changed to a greater still, that there were a new Empire and a new Empress in the world; all the pangs for the land of France that is so dear to me, all the awe for the fate, illustrious and broken, of the woman who was hastening to her tomb, were visible around that chair between the tall men who wore the silver, blue and red of the Hohenzollern House. The Empress was anxious to go valiantly through the ordeal of a private conversation with every person present. She had beforehand inquired about our pursuits and domestic life, and when she called me to her side, when I expected that her words would be as faltering as her voice, I discovered that she had made a programme which she followed minutely, placing many a kind word in favour of my literary tastes, my native country and such of my countrymen as she had known. Then she spoke of poets; praised Lamartine, and André Chénier, and recommended some German ballads to my attention. Although the lips sternly refused to do service, the unswerving will kept strong hold of her failing faculties. I had retired and made place for another lady when one of the chamberlains told me that the Empress had still something to say to me. I returned quickly, and to my great astonishment found that the

trembling hands pointed to the gilt table and the portrait of the young abbé. Much struck by the coincidence, I brought the portrait to the Empress. She made me observe the fine ironical features, the pointed nose: "Rather Voltairian, is it not?" added her Majesty, and then turning the frame she showed me on the back side a heart in diamonds deep set in the faded blue moiré and followed by these words, *vous l'offre*: both emblem and words evidently meant, "My heart offers this picture to you."

"Is this not very amusing," whispered the Empress, "and how very courteous and profane for a priest? Do you know I have finished by discovering who this delightful little courtier was? He lived in 17——" Here the voice sank and I stooped in vain to catch the fading syllables, and I shall never learn the name of that young abbé whose picture ever remains a link between that vision of the venerable Empress and myself, whose smile perhaps still gently lurks behind the portrait of the stern Archbishop, on the gilt table, by the side of the broad window that overlooks the Rhine, while Augusta, First Empress of Modern Germany, lies in her marble mausoleum.

The present Emperor is very fond of tradition and etiquette; still he has established a great many rules quite unknown hitherto in German Courts, and after the Coronation ceremony at Westminster I heard more than one high personage and even personal friend of the potentate deplore that Wilhelm II. should never have had the idea of being himself crowned also in pomp and state—not according to the precedents of his race but the behests of his own imagination, which we one and all deemed vivid enough to invent a new era of etiquette and tradition. His gentle Empress is an open enemy of etiquette; this may be guessed from the first glance at her frank and childish face, and especially when her silvery laugh is allowed free vent. Yet the iron chain of education and discipline is upon her. She has to submit, and being very timid herself, intimidates everyone else, while inwardly she smiles at the mistake. Yet her only fear in this world is the risk of displeasing her husband. For his sake she willingly endures the torment of being a tormentor, of looking quietly on while the unhappy victim toils through the folds of a Court mantle and draws an awkward foot out of a deep curtsey. Her Majesty is womanly and pitiful to the extreme; her eyes only are allowed to speak compassion on such occasions; but her daily life is rendered supportable by the abolition of many disagreeable functions; she would really like every day to resemble her quiet hours. Queens and Princesses never talk of that part of their lives that obliges them to be separated from the rest of their Court, and to shine above them like the sun, above the forests and the seas. The subject is not to them an engrossing one, and they scarcely ever in this intimate intercourse mention the brilliant scenes in which they have been prominent. The greater the preoccupations of a Princess who leaves her native land

for a country which is to become her own the greater is her care to obtain from the people such love as a nation can bestow ; there is among them a kind of charming rivalry that tries to discover who has succeeded best in the task, and it is impossible to meet a Queen without being immediately questioned by her Majesty on the subject of her distant sister. Is she beloved ? Do the people there really care for her ?

The Dowager Queen of Italy had, in my opinion, solved the arduous problem of creating round her throne an atmosphere intellectual and charming, of keeping away from her Court all suspicions of envy and intrigue. Her ladies in waiting succeeded each other, two by two, in order as regular as that of the constellations, and thus all danger of enmity was avoided ; no favourite existed to draw down upon her innocent head all the calamities which await those who have the misfortune to conquer their sovereign's affections by more than special attention paid to her commands and wishes. Favour, envy, calumny, these may be called the stumbling-stones of Court life ; and it is terrible to reflect how cautious the unfortunate monarch must be before bestowing the gift of his approbation on one whom he himself may perhaps not be strong enough to guard against the trouble brought on by his imprudent choice. Court favourites may not always be either perfect or abominable creatures ; one thing is certain, they are always the victims of ill-will and jealousy : not one has escaped that doom. The Dowager Queen of Italy likes order, and is attached to etiquette ; even in her conversation she rarely suffers a personal opinion to come in until she has led the way, and her idea of the divine right of monarchs is very strict. Queen Margherita does not find Court ceremonies a thralldom or a nuisance ; she never shrinks from any fatigue, though she loves to wander through the steep paths of the Appennines and indulge in the refuge of a casual *incognito*, a mode of travelling from which Queen Wilhelmina of Holland is absolutely averse. It must be said that Queen Margherita holds the prerogatives of blood even dearer than the prerogatives of the crown.

At the Court of Roumania, when the present sovereigns first became acquainted with the country, it required much trouble to check the gushing sympathy and familiar manners of the native boyards, who having been accustomed to be ruled by Princes belonging to their own family had always treated the sovereign with more affectionate concern than respect. King Charles and Queen Elizabeth have instituted in their Court the laws of an easy etiquette, whose rules are unpretentious, but must be always taken into consideration. As the King felt naturally anxious to put aside the pretensions of those higher classes from whose ranks a competitor to the throne might have risen, the rising and intelligent democracy of Roumania was placed at Court on the same level as the representatives of our oldest and best families. No distinction whatever is made between the successful lawyer and the nobleman ; our Court is one of the most accessible in

Europe, and of course for that reason one of the most interesting, one where it is easiest to study the triumphant power of the "modern ideal" over the magic of tradition. The honour—so quickly acquired and with such little trouble—of being received by our sovereigns would even fail to rouse that sort of ambition which cherishes the aim solely because it can only be reached by a thorny path, were not the personal qualities of both King and Queen a magnet more attractive than the vulgar satisfactions bestowed upon vanity and spurned by merit. Carmen Sylva is an inveterate enemy of pomp and etiquette, and she is the only Queen who dares declare her preference openly; other Queens try hard to hide their feelings on the subject and refuse to admit anyone into the confidence of their opinions. Carmen Sylva boldly says that she sees no difference between persons belonging to different ranks. Her soul, luminous and large, sheds on all the bountiful rays of an equal love. The degradation brought on by moral deficiencies, by vice and low pursuits, moves her to pity because even when called upon to gaze on ugliness and sin, she tries to trace their source and find a pretext for commiseration. The humble and the humiliated strongly attract her attention and draw her away from the wealthy whose granaries are full and whose hearts are still greedy. This she never fails to say and write, and besides Queen Elizabeth lives up to her principles. During her journey to England, whither I accompanied her Majesty, we visited a few country residences in North Wales. Wherever the Queen stopped, even for an hour, she took good care to address kind words to the servants. To governesses and children's nurses her Majesty was always more gracious than to any duchess present, as she deems the misfortune of that class very great and has often been able to realise how many ardent but smothered feelings rankle in the bosom of young girls who are real ladies but fill in the houses the place of subalterns. As we were leaving one of these lovely and hospitable castles whose inmates have gained for ever a place in the heart of Carmen Sylva, I was startled to find that all at once the carriages came to a sudden stop. The park gates were already far behind, and we could perceive between the trees of the road the smoke of the special train waiting for us. To my still greater astonishment the whole *cortège* was made to return and we were fast brought back to the front door of the house. The Queen had not spoken another word after having uttered an express wish to go back to the castle. I could not understand what her Majesty desired till we reached the threshold, and then, alighting without help from the stately equipage the Queen exclaimed: "I had forgotten to say good-bye to Miss H——." Miss H—— was the governess of the children. "Please call Miss H——, will you?" And when Miss H—— made her appearance: "Do forgive me. I was so sorry to leave you all that somehow I lost my memory. Do not be angry with me and remember I will never forget you." Miss H——, whose

eyes were streaming with tears, bent low and kissed the proffered hand and a burst of such genuine enthusiasm as is rarely heard sprang to the lips of everyone present.

After the first moments of natural embarrassment which everyone feels in the presence of a Queen, the conversation with Carmen Sylva becomes as easy as if she were not an august lady, and the only thing that reminds one of her sovereignty is the superior tenor of her words and ideas, the outpourings of an intelligence whose dominion is Imperial. Even the slightest suspicion of etiquette interfering with her actions is a burden to Carmen Sylva, as she is always afraid lest the briars of ceremony should rise between her and the person she addresses, whose inmost soul she endeavours to penetrate. After some high Court functions which the Queen has to preside over, how touching in their unconscious beauty were the impressions conveyed by her to those who listened. Nothing that was not profoundly human had struck the attention of that pitiful soul; she neither noticed the finery displayed by the ladies, the martial bearing of chamberlains and officers nor the homage paid to her, all her solicitude was for those whom she might have been supposed to ignore, to the weary soldiers who had for hours waited in the streets, scorched by the sun, or stood there dripping with rain and trembling with cold while the gay carriages flashed past them. She would relate how thin and feeble during the *Te Deum* a very old priest looked who majestically bore the load of his heavy gold and silver ornaments, of the massive silver books and the Holy Sacrament that his trembling hands lifted high and reverently above the kneeling multitude. She spoke movingly of some wretched beggar whose eye she had caught fixed with pathetic earnestness and amazement on the glistening visage of his Queen; and of all the flowery tributes spread under her feet and poured upon her knees, she retained only a little broken rose-bud thrown to her by a ragged child who had had to fight painfully with the crowd in order to reach her.

There was bitter disdain and passionate wrath in the voice of Elizabeth Empress of Austria when she spoke of Court fetters and the obligations of her exalted rank. Yet she found that pomp and magnificence were necessary to the monarch and his family. The hypocrisy which she had to countenance and defend stung her proud spirit:—

We are exactly like the actresses in a tragedy; the actresses are our sisters. When we play our parts, we have to wear the garments and the appearance of ages long gone by. We are surrounded by personages who also seem to come from the realm of dreams; we change our voices and our hearts; we become creatures quite apart from our own selves and we conceal our distress in order not to spoil the comedy: it is atrocious but inevitable.

And on the rare occasions when she appeared at the Burg, the Empress exacted a strict observance of all the traditions of the Empire. She

even enforced some of these laws with a zeal unexpected from one who loved her independence and the solitude of secret haunts better than anything else in the world. Notwithstanding her personal inclinations, the Empress proved a stern ruler of Court etiquette; to her the archduchesses of the present day are indebted for the trouble of controlling every movement of vivacity, every sign of interest, of lowering their voices to a murmur scarcely audible; and—when their natural temperament does not act in open rebellion against the laws—of gliding like statues, insensible and inanimate. The Queen of Roumania—for it is to her I must ever revert, as I have been able to study her in a definite and constant manner—the Queen of Roumania had unbounded admiration and sympathy for the Empress of Austria, for the silent, tempestuous and ardent soul whose wild beatings were only soothed by the sound of the winds and the sea, whose instinct dramatised every hour of her existence long before the presentment turned to reality. And the Empress loved the gushing, child-like beauty of the poetical and impressionable Carmen Sylva. Although she has much more than other Queens come into touch with all the classes of her nation, Carmen Sylva cannot be numbered among the travelling Queens, nor does she often leave her palace during the winter months; she never walks in the streets of her capital; and when during her stay in London she strolled *incognito* along the street, she could scarcely move, bewildered as she was by the crowd and the fact of being unnoticed. “Is walking in the streets such a terrible struggle always?” said she; “do you always meet those faces which look upon you in strong indifference and yet seem hungry, stirred by some secret desire?”

Another incident which also took place in London proved to the Queen all the import given by rank to the slightest word a Sovereign pronounces, and how much more difficult it is to simple mortals who wish to convey their ideas and conviction to impress auditors than when eloquence is scarcely needed, because the bare fact of interest shown in such and such a question by a high personage suffices. The Queen had expressed a desire to visit Kew Gardens, and we followed Her Majesty at first through the spacious and beautiful grounds and then through the hot-houses; naturally the Queen, though *incognito*, walked ahead of our little party, and we soon became so engrossed by the sight of the various and splendid floral treasures that we thought of nothing else. The gardener led the way, and as visitors were very numerous that day he insisted on the people not stopping long before each plant and bringing confusion. We often heard him say in a distinct, monotonous voice: “Please, walk on ladies and gentlemen, walk on.” We were just in front of one of those dainty orchids whose petals bear the vivid hues of a sunset sky, when I remarked that we halted a minute or two and the gardener’s voice was rising to an unusual pitch. I raised my head, and to our mingled annoyance and amusement

found out that the Queen had completely forgotten her *incognito*, and reverting to similar occasions in which her royal duties always obliged her to pay compliments and declare her high satisfaction, she now stood distributing her radiant and kind smiles right and left ; and being short-sighted she could not observe that her politeness was received with stolid indifference. Moreover, the gardener was getting quite nervous, while Carmen Sylva gently said : " The flowers are beautiful " indeed, but I am quite delighted with the orchids. And what trouble " you must have to take care of all this quantity of plants. What a " fervent admirer of nature you must be. I congratulate you—I am " really delighted. I fully appreciate your efforts and their excellent " results," sentences which pronounced by an undisguised Queen would have been published, eagerly copied by the newspapers, and brought to that gardener a great pride and contentment. But alas ! they lacked the conventional force they would have carried along their every syllable had the man only guessed who was the lady to whom his rough voice spoke in terms rude and angry " Will you go along ? This has lasted " more than ten minutes. You are preventing the other visitors from " advancing." We had in vain been trying to join the Queen—the crowd was dense between her and ourselves, and when I was at last able to reach her and hurriedly reminded her of the *incognito* and the mistake she was making, Carmen Sylva burst into childish glee " Now," said she, as we found ourselves safely out of the hot-house and far from the obnoxious keeper, " whenever I hear you ladies speak again of my " personal charm and attractive manners I will just say the magic " words : Kew Gardens, Kew Gardeners, and you will be silenced." This small event was duly related to Queen Victoria, who also laughed very much when I imitated in Her presence our Queen's speech to the gardener, and her royal demeanour, thrown away upon the unconscious man ; and then Queen Victoria, turning to Carmen Sylva, said : " You " see, dear, we are not as much to be pitied as some of us seem to think. " Only imagine the effect of all we say and do ; although we have to " be cautious more than any other women, we cannot but try to use " well the formidable weapons we wield and that blood and rank confer " upon us."

From this little story I shall not be accused of taking an imprudent view if I say I am convinced that sovereigns would be the most wretched creatures under the sun were they deprived not only of their moral rights, their sceptres and crowns, but also of all the small and great attributes of their exalted position. Therefore, when they stoop to change their attitudes and ways for ours, and endeavour to assume simplicity and the troubles of an existence whose peace and comfort are not defended from the invasion of care by a strong barrier, they act thus because the anomaly pleases them, because they are perfectly certain that they are only playing a part, and will be able to resume their interrupted task which forces them to soar above our common evils

and our common enjoyments. That the interest they show nowadays in every social endeavour in which the welfare of humanity is concerned makes them better akin to the best amongst us, I cannot deny ; but that they form a race apart, that in order to preserve their dignity and the glamour that surrounds their history, they will ever be obliged to remain hidden in the distant haze of pomp and mystery, is equally undeniable. Carmen Sylva will again help to prove what I advance : and as she can in no way be suspected of harbouring in her bosom the secret fire of pride, the influence of heredity alone will account for the necessity that leads me to draw a conclusion favourable to the intangibility of monarchical ideas from the character of one who strives to destroy the chains wrought by pride and prejudice. Carmen Sylva is the most sweet-tempered lady I have ever known ; her patience, however severely tried, never gives way. She puts up with the most disagreeable people that come across her path, and it is touching to see how much she humours those who, having discovered the depths and extent of her kindness, trespass upon her unwavering amiability and the full command that she possesses over her will and nerves. For my part I remember having seen our Queen angry only once ; and I am sorry to own that I willingly gave her occasion to look rebuke upon me, because real words of rebuke and disparagement she cannot speak. One day, after an exhaustive conversation, of which the subject was human destiny, human misery, the eternal pain and hope that gnaw at every heart, I was led to relate a few domestic dramas which I had witnessed or been told of, and to point out all the various species of misfortune that I had met with among our society people, and also the aristocracy and *bourgeoisie* of other lands. To every one of these tragedies, obscure and thrilling, the Queen opposed the tale of a tragedy as awful that had happened in former days among her own people or acquaintances or ancestors, Kings, Queens and Princes belonging to royal families, and the more I enlarged on the strain of suffering imposed by fate on the unhappy victims of my class, the more the Queen insisted upon the uncommon amount of wretchedness which was or had been the portion of *her* equals. Soon I saw that even Carmen Sylva seemed to believe that the souls of the beings who were superior in blood and rank had been greater too in their comprehension and grasp of misery, had borne an unusual load of distress because theirs was a lot unusual. In fact, for those privileged few she also wanted to secure the privilege of bearing and understanding pain better than others. Our discussion became fierce. Two races, not two souls, were face to face, each struggling for precedence in the realm of sorrow, where the poor and the humble are Kings, and thus perhaps nearer to the Immortal King. The Queen's eloquence and my stubborn resolution were equally loath to give way. At last, almost vanquished by Her Majesty's triumphant arguments, I was about to plead guilty, when a flash of victory shone in my eyes and I exclaimed : " No—no—no, they are not superior to us

"in the dominion of pain ; that supremacy at least does not belong to **them**. Can Your Majesty mention to me a King who has committed **"suicide?"** This argument, which the Queen might easily have destroyed by proving the superiority of patience and religion in the hearts of desperate sovereigns, yet struck her deeply, and after a few moments' silence she changed the conversation and never again returned to the perilous subject. The idea of their inborn grandeur is to monarchs and Princes the salt and cement of their souls ; they can justly boast of the discipline taught them from their earliest childhood, and whose maintenance is as necessary to them as their own breath. Court etiquette is neither a nuisance for those who inspire nor for those who exercise it ; it gives to courtiers and great personages a sense of their personal value and a means of gratifying the inward respect that they have for themselves. A Prince who is unable to bear the boredom of listening for hours to discourses and speeches that do not in the least interest him will ever be considered a weakling, whereas a King—even a *mediocre* King—who would be up to any strain inherent in his situation, must win respect, because he has obeyed the behests of his caste and his ancestry.

Sovereigns who walk with alacrity in the way of modern aspirations are to be revered and loved for the great sacrifice that they make, when they are sincere ; but in their own opinion and the imagination of the nations, their real place is half-way between the demi-gods of ancient mythology and the *Uebermenschen* of Nietzsche.

HELENE VACARESCO.

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA AND THE GOSPELS.

THE articles in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* on the "Gospels," on "John, son of Zebedee,"* and on "Mary," contributed by Professor W. Schmiedel and Dr. E. A. Abbott, seem to have caused some alarm in this country on account of their extreme rationalism and their negative conclusions. The present writer experienced a similar feeling when first reading those articles, but on a closer examination of the line of argument and of the evidence produced in them, his fears were dissipated by the discovery that the learned writers are labouring under grave misconception. We are not concerned here with their conclusions so far as they are subjective theories and personal opinions. Thus the sweeping verdict (vol. ii. p. 1766) that the Fourth Gospel is in so far "important as being, in effect, *the earliest commentary on the Synoptists*" [the italics are the writer's], may be safely passed over. But the question becomes serious when we come to consider the *data* adduced. Here, subjecting the accepted tradition to a severe criticism, Dr. Abbott fittingly opens his long and learned chapter on "external evidence" (pp. 1809 ff.) by appealing to the oldest testimony, that of Papias, Bishop of Phrygian Hierapolis, whom ancient tradition represents as St. John's pupil and companion of Polycarp. Without cautioning his readers that we possess only a few extracts from the original five books of Papias, Dr. Abbott concludes by satisfying himself that, contrary to tradition, "Papias was not a hearer of John the Apostle, nor a companion of Polycarp, nor did he hear any disciple of the Lord, and that when he (Papias) reached early manhood (105 A.D.), the Johannine Gospel was not yet published." . . . "As he (Papias) is silent about Luke and John, we conclude that he knew neither . . . that he was writing (about 115-130 A.D.) at the time when John was attaining, but had not yet attained, recognition as an apostolic Gospel."

* The *Encyclopædia* has given no insertion to John the Apostle nor to John the Evangelist.

All these weighty and portentous conclusions Dr. Abbott bases upon one passage of Eusebius (H.E. iii. 3, 3), in which that writer is supposed to explain his object in writing his famous Ecclesiastical History. Now the real purpose and plan of this writer are clearly set forth in the preface where Eusebius says:—

"My object being to record in writing the successions of the holy apostles along with the times elapsed from our Saviour's down to the present, and how many and great events are reported as having been enacted in ecclesiastical history; how many of its men most eminently led and ruled in the foremost centres; furthermore, what men in each generation professed the holy Word either verbally or by writings; . . . I shall begin from nowhere else than from God's first dispensation in accordance with our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ"

To the principles so laid down Eusebius returns in chap. iii. 3, 3, where he speaks of Peter's disputed "2 Pet., Acts, Gospel, *Κήρυγμα*, "Apocalypse," and of Paul's "fourteen canonical epistles," his disputed "Hebrews, Acts," then of "Hermæ Pastor" Here then (H.E. iii. 3, 3), and between the two groups of writings, Eusebius inserts the statement which Dr. Abbott regards as the *locus classicus* for his argument:—*προϊούσης δὲ τῆς ἱστορίας, προὔργον ποιήσομαι σὺν ταῖς διαδοχαῖς ὑποσημῆναι τίνες τῶν κατὰ χρόνους ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων, ὅποιας [ὅποιοις?] κέχρηται τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων, τινὰ τε περὶ τῶν ἐνδιαθῆκων καὶ ὁμολογουμένων γραφῶν, καὶ ὅσα περὶ τῶν μὴ τοιούτων αὐτοῖς εἶρηται.* That is in English:—"As the narrative proceeds, I shall deem it expedient, along with the (apostolic) successions, to intimate (or suggest) who are among the ecclesiastical writers of each time, which of the disputed books they have made use of, moreover some things about the canonical and acknowledged writings, and the things that have been said by them concerning those (writings) that are not such" (*i.e.*, concerning the non-canonical writings)

So far then Eusebius is concerned primarily with the Apostolic successions, then by the way (*ὑποσημῆναι*) with the ecclesiastical writers and their use of uncanonical texts, then last and least of all with their statements about the canonical Gospels, evidently because these last books were already too familiar to the Christian world. Indeed, had Eusebius attempted to collect and record all that had been said about the canonical Gospels by all the writers who had lived before 315 A.D. when he was writing his Church History, if at all possible, such a task would have resulted in a prodigious digest of many volumes.

Now let us turn to Dr. Abbott's reading and critical interpretation of the above passage of Eusebius. The learned writer says (*Encyclopædia Britannica* s.v. "Gospels," vol. ii., p. 1813) "The system of Eusebius.—In order to appreciate the negative as well as the positive value of the evidence of Papias, we must briefly consider the purpose of Eusebius, who has preserved it. Eusebius promises (H.E. iii.

" 3, 3) to record (1) the quotations of ecclesiastical writers from disputed " books ; (2) *what they have said about the canonical Scriptures and " the uncanonical as well* [the italics are the writer's] (τίνα* τε παρὰ " τῶν ἐνδιαθῆκων καὶ ὁμολογουμένων γραφῶν καὶ ὅσα περὶ τῶν μὴ τοιούτων " αὐτοῖς εἴρηται). His promise to include the latter† we have reason to " believe that he faithfully keeps. But he gives no extracts from " Papias about Luke and John.‡ It may be reasonably inferred that " Papias was silent [?] about them. The silence may have proceeded " from either of two causes : (1) John and Luke may have not been " recognised by Papias as on an equality with Mark and Matthew ; " (2) though recognising them as authoritative, Papias may have had " nothing to say about them. . . . the latter alternative is highly " improbable [!] These considerations point to the con- " clusion that Luke and John were not recognised by Papias as on a " level with Mark and Matthew. If Papias did not recognise Luke " and John as authoritative, it would seem likely that John—though " probably (Eus. H.E. iii, 24, 7,) it had been for some time taught " orally, and though traditions from it may have been in use in " Proconsular Asia—was not yet circulated in writing or, if circulated, " not yet acknowledged as apostolic when Papias wrote his *Exposi- " tion*." Then p. 1817 : "*Summary of the evidence relat- " ing to Papias*.—Reviewing the evidence, we are led to the following " negative and positive conclusions. Papias was not a 'hearer of " 'John,' nor a 'companion of Polycarp,' nor did he 'hear' any " 'disciple of the Lord.' These facts [!] suggest for " Papias's birth a date about 85 A.D. When he reached early man- " hood (105 A.D.), the last of the apostles, if still living, was probably " incapacitated by old age for teaching. The Johannine Gospel, " though preached orally at Ephesus, was not yet published. " Being probably (Lightf. SR 153) of Pagan origin (Eus. iii., 39, 12), " and given to literalise Jewish metaphor, Papias may (*sic*) have been " perplexed by a comparison of Hebrew with Greek 'interpretations' " of Christian traditions. . . . About Luke or John or any other " Gospel [than Mark and Matthew] Papias is silent, and we conclude " that he knew neither, or ranked neither with Mark or Matthew."

Referring to these conclusions of Dr. Abbott's, his collaborator, Pro- fessor Schmiedel in his subsequent article "John, son of Zebedee" (pp. 2503-2562)—a very long and painstaking treatise—accepting his collaborator's views as established facts, very boldly asserts (p. 2548): "We have, moreover, the strongest evidence [!] to show that Papias " never wrote in his work anything with reference to the Fourth " Gospel. Eusebius (H.E. iii., 3, 3) *pledges himself* in his history

* So accented, but surely misaccented.

† Namely "his promise to include what the ecclesiastical writers say about the canonical scriptures," a promise never made.

‡ But out of the five books of Papias's writings (*Interpretations* or *Expositions*) only a few fragments have come down to us.

"to mention *without fail* which of the disputed Biblical writings "the ecclesiastical writers of each period had made use of and what "they said about the acknowledged writings and all that they said "about those which were not such. As regards the acknowledged "writings—among which he reckoned the Fourth Gospel—he dispenses himself accordingly merely from the duty of collecting the "quotations from them, not from that of collecting the sayings of the "church fathers concerning them. This programme [!] he has carried "out with great care. In Papias, whom he read with special attention, he did not find any saying of the kind indicated either regarding "Luke or regarding John. But as Papias did make such a statement "regarding Mark and Matthew,* and as he made use of the Gospels "as well as of oral communications for the preparation of his work, it "would be exceedingly remarkable if he had made use of Luke and "John and yet nowhere expressed himself regarding their character "cp. Gospels §§ 67, 74, 82 [1]"†

As already stated, all this ratiocination as well as its portentous conclusions rest on one single passage of Eusebius (H.E. iii., 3, 3), a passage fully cited and explained above. Now as that passage has been obviously misread by the writers, their premises prove fallacious. This being the case, their conclusions, however impressive, need not perturb us.

A. N. JANNARIS

* That statement is also incidental (*ὑποσημειῖναι τινα*).

† This refers to Dr. Abbott's interpretation of the passage of Eusebius already quoted above.

NATIONAL HEALTH: A SOLDIER'S STUDY.

JUST a year ago, in January, 1902, an article of mine was published in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW under the title of "Where to 'get Men.'" It set forth certain facts which had come under my observation. I need not at this moment recapitulate them, because the substance of them, much expanded, will appear in the following paper. I had not intended to touch the question again, having once drawn attention to it, but the article excited so much interest that I was asked by the Civic Society of Glasgow to give them a lecture on the subject. That led me to make a much more exhaustive inquiry than I had done in the first instance. I have gone into the bearing upon it of the investigations of many who have been lately devoting themselves to the study of these social questions, and, as the result has been to convince me of the necessity of that larger national research for which Mr. Charles Booth has asked, I propose now briefly to restate my own experiences and to show the bearing on them of the much more painstaking and careful work of better qualified men.

During nearly the last seven years it has been one of my duties about once a month to visit the Herbert Hospital for the purpose of sanctioning the discharge from the Army of men who had been brought forward by a "Medical Board" as no longer fit for H.M. Service. I very soon found that an alarming proportion of these men had involved the State in considerable expense, but had given no return. As soon as they were put to any average amount of work they broke down in health, had to be sent to hospital, and if after being patched up they were sent back to duty, they broke down again and on the whole their record showed that they never had at any time become effective soldiers. My first impression was that this showed undue carelessness on the part of the doctors who had to examine them prior to their entry into the service. I had many conversations with the Inspector-General of Recruiting on the subject,

We always endeavoured to track out any such mistakes and to bring home the responsibility for them to the right quarters: but the point to which my attention was immediately directed was that the number of men who become effective soldiers bears a very nearly fixed proportion to the number of those who offer themselves for enlistment, no matter whether the tests be applied more or less severely at any given stage. The last report of the Inspector-General for Recruiting explains this clearly. In former times more men were brought up for inspection in the first instance in proportion to those who offer themselves to the recruiting sergeants than is now the case, because directions have been given to the recruiting officers not to submit for the inspection of the medical officers men who would not be likely to be passed. The rejections by these medical officers are therefore less numerous. In fact the sifting process applied to those who offer themselves is threefold. First there is the rejection by the sergeants and recruiting officers of the men not likely to be passed. Then there is the rejection by the medical officers after actual physical inspection, and lastly there is the test of trial in the service itself, represented by the experience I have recorded in the Herbert Hospital. The several percentages of rejection at these three stages vary considerably. If the sergeants bring up men too freely the doctors reject more, and if the doctors are too easy the service test shows a higher proportion of failures during the first two years in the ranks. But however each of these percentages may be modified, the total of them remains pretty nearly constant, and, according to the best estimate I have been able to arrive at, it has been for many years true that out of every five men who wish to enlist and primarily offer themselves for enlistment you will find that by the end of two years' service there are only two men remaining in the Army as effective soldiers.

Now in the first instance I want to draw attention to the importance of this fact in its bearing on the question of national defence. It is ridiculous to talk about the necessity for compulsory service, universal service, conscription, or what not of that kind, if there are more men willing to enlist than we should require if they only were fit material for soldiers. No one that I am aware of has ever proposed, under any system of compulsory service, that we should increase our existing army in a higher proportion than that of five to two. Yet we have here under our voluntary system five men offering themselves for enlistment for every two of whom we make soldiers. Surely then it is worth while to enquire whether there are not removable causes which tend to produce this appalling disproportion between the willing and the physically competent, what in the Army we briefly call "the fit." But there is another consideration which to my mind is even more serious. Whatever steps are taken by increasing the inducements to enlistment or by any form of pressure, compulsory

or otherwise, to raise the standard of the Army either in numbers or physique seem to me to be only like more careful methods of extracting cream from milk. The more carefully you skim the milk the poorer is the residue of skimmed milk. I think it is safe to say that no nation was ever yet for any long time great and free when the army it put into the field no longer represented its own virility and manhood. I need not give many examples. They are written large upon the pages of history. People of late seem disposed to go back to the long past story of the Roman Empire which, though it may present some very useful analogies, was yet, thank God, in all its circumstances so unlike our own that I cannot think it is in that respect nearly so valuable as a much more recent example.

When France in wrath her giant-limbs upreared
And with that oath which smote air, earth and sea,
Stamped her strong foot and said she would be free.

* * * *

When insupportably advancing
Her arm made mockery of the warrior's tramp ;—

what was the essential fact, which Coleridge thus graphically records, but that, during the earlier stages of the Revolutionary Wars, the whole virility of a great nation, needing only to be ordered and regulated, as ere long it was, was flung against the thin crust of recruited soldiers with no national enthusiasm behind them? What was it that made Waterloo not a mere defeat for Napoleon, but a "World's Earth-quake"? What change had taken place but that that magnificent army was now a crust with nothing behind it, that the virility of great nations was flung into the victorious assault which reduced it to powder; that, as Wellington said with a broad truth that it needs a real study of the Waterloo campaign to understand, and with just such a cryptic clothing in words as leads "the unstable" to wrest them disastrously, Waterloo was won not in barracks but in the playing fields of school at home? To me then it seems a vital matter for us to enquire what is the meaning of that disastrous proportion between the five and the two. Does it mean that the class which necessarily supplies the bulk of the ranks of our army consists in this large proportion of men physically unfit? If so, what are the causes of this fatal condition of things and are they remediable? During the years that I was at Woolwich this question was forced upon me month after month. Naturally therefore it occupied many of my thoughts, and I have been seeking everywhere for such light as I could get upon it. In such a search one makes many mistakes and has often to change one's impressions.

It will be convenient first to record the immediate causes which seem to produce the greater number of cases of physical breakdown. Unquestionably heart weakness, pneumatic troubles and rheumatism,

with its sequelæ, supply a large number. A smaller proportion than I should have expected are immediately and obviously traceable to the consequences of one fatal class of maladies, my reference to which will be all the more clearly understood because I do not enlarge upon them. Of course indirectly the after effects may be telling on generation after generation without their being clearly to be detected. That question apart, most of the heart troubles, rheumatic and pneumatic weaknesses seem to be generally connected with what in itself causes a very large proportion of the cases which make discharges necessary,—the generally low anæmic condition of the whole body. Then two special causes have come under my observation which lose us a great many men: one, flat feet, tending to make marching impossible; the other has been specially conspicuous among the men sent back from South Africa: numbers of them have been unable to digest their food and have broken down in health because of bad teeth. Bad teeth are also a very frequent cause of rejection, and are certainly a potent factor in the reduction from five to two.

But the important question is, What are the causes which have brought about this condition of health in the men who come up for enlistment? Before I touch them, as they are complicated and much open to dispute, I must observe that what I contend is not that the prior causes which I am, after such enquiry as I have been able to make, disposed to assign for the weaknesses I have described are the true and only sources of them, but that the subject is one of such great importance that it calls for investigation, and for investigation much more thorough than can be given to it by any individual or by anything less than a searching public inquiry. Nevertheless I have had both within and without the Herbert Hospital, which receives patients from all regiments in His Majesty's Service and from every quarter of the globe, some opportunities for arriving at suggestive answers to the question of these causes, and for what they are worth I propose to record them here.

First as to the teeth. The doctors, as far as I am aware, unanimously agree that the great cause of bad teeth is that during the period of infancy and during the early years of life when the teeth were forming, the boy did not receive the food which nature required in order to carry out her part in the formation of teeth. Primarily of course that means that the supply of milk was inadequate. Everyone who has lived for any length of time in country districts is aware that under our present social organisation milk is even harder for the poor to obtain in the country than it is in the towns. Everyone knows those huge milk tins which crowd our railway stations and represent the transfer from the country to London and the various provincial towns of the milk supply. But as regards the towns one has very noteworthy evidence of another kind. Most towns, Woolwich among the number, now adopt the excellent system of sending town children for

certain periods into country districts. Moreover during the war the children of the men at the front have been largely looked after by the ladies connected with the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association. From both these sources I have obtained valuable reports. The men's wives do not differ much in their normal domestic habits from those of their class, and are indeed, taking one with another, I think, rather superior in point of knowledge and domestic training, and certainly much more closely associated with ladies who know them well, than the average of their class. Now whether of the children sent from the towns into the country districts, either of soldiers or civilians, or of the children sent into hospitals, one hears the same story from those who have to look after them. The children have been so unaccustomed to the wholesome nutritious food suited to their time of life that they cannot eat it. They want what they have been accustomed to, what they call relishes—red herrings, pickles, fried fish, and the like. In one pathetic instance in hospital, I believe a representative one, a puny three year old child, having been given a penny to amuse it, held out its hand with the penny to every visitor, begging him or her to buy for him a "ha-porth of gin." The universal testimony that I have heard is that the parents give the children even in infancy the food from off their own plates. One most respectable woman in a good situation, of whom I knew, used habitually to give her six months old baby cold cabbage for supper, with the result that the baby cried all night, of course from pain and indigestion. I do not think that there can be any doubt that the unwholesome feeding thus given to children during their early years is responsible for a great deal of the anæmia and for the bad teeth. In many instances it is also the practice of the mothers to give their children in mistaken kindness "just a taste of gin to make them lively," and anyone who has watched many of the beanfeasts and other expeditions from the towns for a holiday in the country must have seen, as I have done, the liquor, which is brought out from public-house after public-house at which the char-a-banc stops, served round to quite young girls and children, creating a purely artificial taste and undoubtedly injuring growth and digestion. Now primarily it is obvious that that suggests as the great original cause ignorance on the part of the mothers of the necessary conditions for the bringing up of healthy children. The flat feet, so far as I have been able to ascertain, point to the same defect. For flat feet are ordinarily the result of improper care during infancy and childhood.

I come now to a point on which all those whom I have personally consulted are agreed, but on which I find the most amazing conflict of evidence among those who have devoted themselves to the larger study of these questions. It is natural to think that, though obviously it is not the only cause, one very potent cause of the unfitness of mothers to fulfil their duty is that of early marriages, of the fact that,

in some instances at least that we have all seen, children marry and beget children whom they are quite unfitted to rear. This view is further strengthened by another series of cases in which the anæmic condition of the lads whom we have to get rid of is at least largely attributed by the doctors to the fact that they are the children of parents who were so young that they were not physically of age to have healthy children. But the question is, in what proportion of cases does this cause operate? Naturally one turns for guidance to those who have been recently devoting themselves to a study of these social questions. Mr. Charles Booth, whose splendid and exhaustive work on "The Life and Labour of the People" in London is one's first resource, has had such an enormous field to deal with that he has left over this particular subject for treatment in the final volumes, not yet published, and I have failed to get any light upon it from him. On the other hand Mr. Rowntree, who with a smaller field for investigation in York has been able in some respects to go into more detail, gives us tabular statements as to the age of marriages which appear to show that the proportion of unduly early marriages is in York insignificant. But there are other investigators who have more specifically and directly dealt with this very question. Mrs. Bosanquet, many of whose studies were published before her marriage, and therefore appear under her maiden name of "Dendy," is very emphatic. "These early marriages," she says, "are the curse of the poor." "Instances," she tells us, "like the following are to be numbered by 'thousands.'" "A B, now twenty-one, has a wife and three children to support. At 16 he married a girl of fifteen." On the other hand Mr. Arthur Sherwell, who has given us a very interesting account of Soho under the title of "Life in West London: A Study and a Contrast," is equally emphatic on the opposite side. "The proportion," he tells us, "of early marriages (*i.e.*, of persons under twenty years of age) is extremely insignificant," and he adds, "considerable misunderstanding appears to exist in the popular mind as to the prevalence of early marriages, especially in the industrial districts, and the number of such marriages is often greatly exaggerated." But he adds also what for my purpose is all important, "London compares very favourably with the rest of England." Now that last phrase of Mr. Sherwell's raises the main issue to which I want to draw attention, not only in regard to this one question of early marriages, which may or may not be as Mr. Sherwell tells us, and as I think the census returns confirm him in calling "extremely insignificant," or may be, as Mrs. Bosanquet tells us with much graphic detail, the result of close personal observation, "the curse of the poor." The point is that all these investigations, important as they are and noble as the work that has been done in them has been, are confined to areas which relatively to the whole country are limited, and the results are inconclusive. Mr. Charles Booth, the

pioneer and exemplar of all recent investigators, leads up to the conclusion which he has emphatically stated in these words: "What has been done for London might be much better done and done for the whole country" (Vol. IX., p. 6). Whether his particular proposal of work through the Registrar-General and the Board of Trade would be the most satisfactory I do not feel competent to say positively. The late census will, when fully published, be an invaluable guide, but it needs to be so analysed and expounded as to give us some such light on it as Mr. Booth has given us on London. *Primâ facie* it throws much doubt on Mrs. Bosanquet's graphic pictures as guides to a general truth. From my particular point of view the questions I want answered are not met by any investigation, however complete, of the conditions of life in London or in York. What I am interested in, from a soldier's point of view, is the question as it affects the whole realm. Is what is true of York true of the great manufacturing towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire? Is it true of Glasgow, Belfast, and the other great towns of Scotland and Ireland? Is it true of the country districts of England, Scotland and Ireland? Mr. Rowntree's evidence, if we were to accept it as true for the whole country, would apparently lead up to one appalling explanation of my figures of the five and the two. He tells us that in York the whole labouring population, as distinguished from the artisan, is just floating along the line of what he calls "poverty," that is the condition in which there are not available sufficient resources to supply food for virile existence, and though, speaking generally, every family is at certain periods of its career above that line, yet the periods when each family falls below it are specially those when children are being reared. Now if that be true for the whole country, then the impediment to the rearing of healthy children is not the ignorance of the mothers so much or nearly so much as that the conditions of modern life do not enable them to supply their children with sufficient sustenance. But is it true and representative? York is certainly not a manufacturing town, and—to take the rather test question of the evidence about the early marriages—so far as I know, what has been always alleged about the early marriages would in several respects not apply to the conditions of York. In the first place what has been always said to be one of the chief causes of these marriages was the early independence of boys and girls and their early association under exciting conditions, both due to the circumstances of factory life. It may well therefore happen that what may in this respect be true of York is not true of the great manufacturing towns or even, from rather different causes, of London. So again Mr. Booth tells us that London is the stronghold of small industries, and that, as a result, he finds that vast as are the numbers which are absorbed in the life of great organisations, these are in London, taken as a whole, absolutely lost in the far greater numbers that stand outside the great

shops and factories. Is this true of the whole country or is it exceptional in the home of small industries? Mr. Booth thinks that what is true of London is probably true also of New York and of all the great metropolitan cities. But is it true of the country at large? Taking Yorkshire, Lancashire, and the Midlands into account, is it still true that, vast as are the accumulations of men and women in the greater organisations which to casual observation seem to be more and more swallowing in the life of the whole country, yet the numbers that remain outside them are overwhelmingly great? This preliminary enquiry enormously affects our estimate of the causes which determine the healthfulness of modern life among the labouring classes and of the required remedies. The direct conflict between the evidence of most experienced workers, of which I have given illustration and shall give more, shows how necessary it is to get at facts before we are in a hurry to prescribe remedies.

I suppose that no one since the world began ever yet did anything that was worth doing without being asked with a yawn by not a few of his contemporaries, "What on earth is the good of it all?" "Pon my 'soul, I can't see!" and Mr. Booth tells us that he has had that experience. It may therefore perhaps be some encouragement, not only to Mr. Booth but to those who agree with me in pressing for that more complete inquiry which he desires, if I cite an experience of the comparatively recent past. In the year 1849 there were published in the *Morning Chronicle*, a long since defunct newspaper, a series of articles by Mr. Henry Mayhew on "London Labour and the London Poor." To the best of my belief I do Mr. Mayhew no injustice if I say that in closeness of investigation, in genuine research, in pains to be accurate, in calm judgment and anxiety to get at the whole truth whatever it may be, they did not approach the work of Mr. Booth and of those who have been associated with him. But even so they had this remarkable result, that by a sequence not difficult to trace they revolutionised the whole conditions of our industrial life. They produced probably comparatively little effect on the minds of the many, but they did what was much more important, they produced a most intense effect upon the minds of the few. They stimulated my father and his friends and that very important personage in the evolution of our social life, now I suppose wholly forgotten, Mr. Slaney, at that time a member of Parliament. Mr. Slaney succeeded in getting a searching Parliamentary Inquiry and ultimately in carrying through Parliament a Bill which was immediately designed to legalise the Co-operative Societies of working men, a revolution in itself, the effect of which in all its consequences cannot yet be estimated, but in its indirect result it created the whole system of Limited Liability Companies. As with most things on this earth, good and evil have been strangely blended in that product. The whole business of company promotion and the rascality which has been connected with it doubtless owed their oppor-

tunity to that Act, and it has been the object of a long series of subsequent enactments to correct the evils which were so introduced. But imagine how far it would be possible to go back from that step! What living man or woman in this realm has not been affected by it?

Therefore I say that when one is asked "What good do you expect from any inquiry?" "How do you think that you can remedy the defect if it be the case, as Mr. Rowntree's investigation would suggest, that the whole unskilled labouring population of the country is in a condition which makes it unable to rear the next generation in virile manhood?" I answer, "It is impossible that anyone should suggest a remedy till we know the truth" The one thing that is certain is, "that things are what they are, and their consequences will be what they will be," whether we shut our eyes to them or not. If the blind lead the blind we shall both fall into the ditch, no matter how loudly we shout beforehand that the ditch is not there. The ditch, with falling into which we are, whether rightly or wrongly, threatened by Mr. Rowntree, is a very deep one. On the other hand, I do not think that anyone who has studied Mr. Booth's book can doubt that what he presents to us is a hopeful and encouraging picture of our modern life. He looks at it as it seems to me with the eyes of Burke. No one but Mr. Booth, since Burke's day, has quite seen things as he did. Mr. Booth sees the great movement of London life as a whole, he sees its failures, but he sees an energetic, vigorous existence, dependent on freedom and on the struggle to improve. He offers no encouragement to that wild language which we sometimes hear which tells us that our modern system is such a disastrous mistake that it were well that it should be swept away, were it even by revolutionary violence, with its sure outcome in despotism. Nor does he even encourage those despotic measures or drastic remedies which in their eagerness for quick reform some among us are anxious to press on under our existing constitution. Daylight, patience, freedom, public spirit, education, in its fullest sense, regard for the coming generation, are his remedies for what is defective in our body politic. But my point of view is necessarily a somewhat different one. If this free municipal and national life is so valuable and precious it must be guarded in all security. Does my ugly figure of the five to two imply that the class from which we have hitherto drawn the bulk of its defenders is from some cause or causes ceasing to supply the numbers of healthy men that it used to do, or at all events to such an extent suffering in its virility that it cannot now supply them? There are certain factors in our modern life that may tend in that direction: the continuous rush of the people from the country districts into the towns, the disappearance of the class of Yeomen, the general depression of the agricultural districts, the fact—to which Mr. Booth so strongly testifies—that it is capacity or skill alone which in some form or other commands or ever can command an adequate wage in the towns; and therefore the enormously strong presumption that

neither the unskilled labourer who has been tempted into the towns, nor the hereditary townsman who, after two or three generations, has deteriorated in physical vigour, will be able to rear a healthy family.

In some way or other, if our complicated social organism is to work out its own improvement in security, there must be provided an adequate supply of those who are to protect it. It may be that by a process of national development which cannot now be arrested, we have so changed our character that what was formerly a great agricultural country fitly represented by the Lord Chancellor on the woolsack, with manufacturing towns like islands in the midst of the sea of general population, is rapidly in the main becoming a great industrial manufacturing nation, with a small agricultural population as a mere fringe to the towns. If so, our methods of providing the needed men and of looking after the conditions which tend to their healthful development must be modified accordingly. But what I must continually insist upon is that it is vital for us to know the truth. If, whether because our unskilled labourers have been tempted into the towns, and have there in large measure failed to find the means of rearing a healthy family, or because of at least attackable causes, such as the early marriages and the want of knowledge of the mothers of the conditions necessary to bring up a healthy family, the result is that the rising generation of all below the artisan class is represented by the standard of health which is indicated by the figures I have given, then most assuredly we cannot afford to fold our hands and treat the question as insoluble. To do so is to commit the greatest of civic crimes, that of despairing of the State. Surely in this case it is true that if one member suffers all the others suffer with it. We all suffer, for the very security of the State is endangered.

Whatever the primary causes of the condition of things to which I have drawn attention, we are always brought back to the fact that, whether for the virility of the nation in Civil Life or for the supply of an adequate body of recruits to the Army, we have to remember that the young man of sixteen to eighteen years of age is what he is because of the training through which he has passed during his infancy and childhood. "Just as the twig is bent the tree's inclined." Therefore it is to the condition, mental, moral, and physical, of the women and children that we must look if we have regard to the future of our land. Under that aspect the observations of Mr. Barnett, in Whitechapel, are most significant. Mr. Barnett found that the health and long life of the children of the Jews, whose women did not go out to work, compared most favourably with that of the Christian population, the women of which worked without adequate regard to their functions as mothers. It does not follow that a stereotyped copying of the habits of the Jews would be desirable, but it may explain and justify the view of the Emperor of Germany that for the raising of a

virile race, either of soldiers or citizens, it is essential that the attention of the mothers of a land should be mainly devoted to the three Ks—Kuche, Kirche, Kinder.

Perhaps I may best set forth the aspect of the question which most forces itself upon my mind by recalling the very remarkable history of the Austrian Monarchy. It is, of course, by far the oldest in Europe in its hereditary connection with the old German Empire, properly called the "Holy Roman Empire," and through that with the Empire of the Cæsars. In war almost its whole history is a record of defeat. Yet what a strange vitality it has shown. Its defeats have been chiefly due to its want of national unity, to the heterogeneous character of its population, to its encrusted conservatism and old world ways. But according to the observation of all who have studied its history its amazing vitality and longevity have been due to the fact that it has within its borders a vast, healthy and vigorous agricultural population which if not patriotic, which without national unity it can hardly be, is yet eminently loyal and supplies an almost limitless resource of healthy recruits. With those and similar facts in other parts of the world before me, I cannot think that we ought willingly and with a light heart to give up the hope of saving, if it be possible, the class to which of old time our yeomen and their sons belonged, which, if I mistake not, still supplies a no small contingent to our stalwart Scottish and Irish regiments. If we could in a generation or two either by better education of the mothers or by the creation of more favourable conditions make all of that five as virile as the two, I think that were the better way. Those two are such splendid fellows that I wish we could get more like them. I say splendid fellows not merely because of their record in South Africa as given by foreign observers. That is splendid enough, but I am thinking rather of them as civil members of society. Nothing impressed me so much in the Herbert Hospital as the type of men who had been called in from the reserve, had gone out to South Africa and had returned with perhaps a gun-shot wound that healed with that amazing rapidity that has been characteristic of the campaign. These men had been from three to seven years in the Army and had then passed two or three years in civil life. All of them seemed to have found most excellent situations, and what struck me was that they had been greatly improved by the double experience. They had acquired discipline and order in the Army, but Army life had given them too little self-reliance. The essentially harder effort to get their own bread and that of their families without having it put into their mouths had done them a world of good. They had begun to realise what the struggle for existence meant. They had returned to the Army better soldiers for the experience, and had been, according to universal testimony, the backbone of the Army in South Africa. I am certain that when they now again return to civil life they will be.

much better fathers of families than the majority of the class from which they sprang. This interchange between the Army and civil life, which is the result of the short service and reserve system, has, I am certain, introduced into the population a class which will not give us many children that belong to the hopeless three among the five. At all events it will be a class much more approachable with wise counsel than the average country bumpkin. For I am afraid I must admit that some experience that has fallen in my way leads me to realise only too painfully how very difficult is the task at its best of teaching the mothers of the labouring class anything whatever. The ingrained conservatism of our village people has its advantages. It saves us from many dangers. But it is a terrible obstacle to progress. The Surrey County Council at one time sent down to a village in which I was living a very well-selected teacher who offered gratuitous instruction in domestic cottage cookery to the women of the village. The object was solely to enable them to make more economical use of the food that they daily bought. The teaching was in every way appropriate and excellent. All the ladies of the place eagerly attended the lessons. I think I am right in saying that no single woman of the labouring class could be induced even to put in an appearance. The greatest difficulty in dealing with ignorance is that it has no idea that there is anything that it does not know. I am strongly convinced, both from my own experience and from all I have been able to gather from those who know more about it, that the effect of town life is very much to break up this dogged resistance to the reception of all light from outside. In that way, though the enormous numbers to be dealt with at one spot no doubt make the problem present its own difficulties, I incline to think that the rush into the towns has its advantages. It is the beginning of a more active social life, and even the pressure creates a consciousness that outside light is needed. Nothing to my mind is more touching than the enthusiastic reception which is given to anyone who, however feebly, tries to give an honest lead to these great aggregations of men and to speak the truth to them. There are therefore compensations in our social conditions, and as I have been taking my illustrations from Woolwich and may leave the impression that things are particularly bad there, let me say that Woolwich has been valuable to me for study, not only because the hospital supplies cases from all parts of the country but because the social life in Woolwich is exceptionally vigorous and active, and because the most strenuous efforts are there being made to tackle these problems. I am necessarily in this paper restricting myself to the question of the necessity for investigation and avoiding all suggestion of remedies. If that were not so I could not do better than set forth the steps which have been taken by Mr. Davies, the public health officer under the authority of the very active and energetic Mayor and Corporation

of Woolwich, to deal with these problems, and in particular the attempt to check the frightful injury to infant life from improper feeding by issuing plain directions, "How to feed baby," on a card that can be hung up for constant reference. It adds, however, a terrible significance to the whole enquiry that the motive which originally induced Mr. Davies to draw up these cards was not specifically his sense of those results to health in after life which have come under my observation, but the appalling mortality of infants under one year of age. These causes therefore are diminishing the virile manhood of the country not only by reducing the virility of those who survive but because of the deaths, more numerous than on any battlefield, that strew with corpses the way for the poor survivors.

To return to my main subject. It seems to me that we have in this matter of national health a special right to call upon one particular body of men to give us a lead and guidance. How necessary that guidance is may be shown by the fact that the very standard of health which Mr. Rowntree has taken for his rule in York has been publicly challenged by Mrs. Bosanquet. Frankly I have the most profound distrust of the adequacy of these newspaper discussions as a means of arriving at truth. It is quite uncertain at any time whether all of those who are most competent to give evidence on these questions do or do not care to enter into that Court for trial and to submit to that body of judges for final decision. There is only one Court of ultimate appeal, that which slowly but surely makes its decrees known by the verdict of time and consequences. As a rule the authority of our judges of first instance is apt to be considerably affected by the number of cases in which their decisions have been sustained or reversed on appeal. Now in so far as one may judge of the view of our newspaper tribunal which is entertained in that highest Court by the number of cases in which its earliest decisions have been sustained or reversed, I do not think that anyone who has watched closely the slow but sure working of that Court, which in the long run issues irresistible mandates, can come to any other conclusion than that there is in those high quarters a humorous pleasure in laughing to scorn the hasty decisions which are pronounced at or after midnight in a thousand newspaper offices of our land. I should be sorry to be supposed for a moment to doubt the incalculable value to us of that daylight which is let into all transactions by the working of our free Press. It is unspeakably valuable precisely because it is out of the conflict of opinions that light flashes. But it is of the essence of that fact that in the course of the process each separate opinion, and often the apparently universal opinion, is ground to powder. One may pretty safely apply to the Press what John Bright said of the House of Commons, that "He had never known it quite unanimous without proving to be quite wrong in its judgment." As it seems to me, there are several circumstances

in the constitution of our newspaper Areopagus which must and do involve reversals on appeal to that High Court. In the first place every newspaper is quite infallible, and as far as my ears guide me, there is nothing which causes such loud laughter in the spheres as any claim to human infallibility. The fixed law of the universe, as we all know, is that the man who makes no mistakes makes nothing. In the second place a newspaper is primarily and necessarily a commercial undertaking. It is quite right that it should be so. In the few instances where that is not the case and where a wealthy man has sacrificed his wealth to propagating his own opinions I cannot say that I think the result has been approved, so far as I can read the cryptic writing of those high decrees, by the decisions of the Court of ultimate appeal. But speaking generally there is a very serious consequence which follows from the fact that this primary Court is started on a commercial basis. We all of us spend among us untold thousands annually in the corruption of that Court. For each of us takes those newspapers which supply him with views which he thinks sound. We may read or even buy newspapers of a different political or other bias to our own to see what they are saying.^a But it is nevertheless on conformity to the current of our casual impressions that a newspaper depends for its existence. A few men, all honour to them, resist that tremendous pressure, and tell us the truth whether we like it or not, but as a rule they are gagged by their newspapers being sold over their heads, or at best they are sentenced to a heavy fine. We all know how desperately difficult it was a few years ago in France to maintain a newspaper which asked for a fair hearing for Dreyfus. We all know how during the passionate Anglo-phobia of Germany anyone who ventured to ask for a fair hearing for us did so with a rope round his neck. We here in Britain are men of like passions with these. It is notorious that because the general public expects to see palms as characteristic of the East, therefore no illustrated newspaper ventures to supply a true picture of the many places in the East where no palms ever grew. The public expects palms and it gets them. If it expects mermaids or sea-serpents it gets them also. I could multiply illustrations by the score that have come within my own personal knowledge, but the subject is too large a one for me to expand here, and I should not have touched it but that no public man can afford to do so. They all grumble and scoff in private, but in public the newspapers on which they depend for reaching their audiences are covered with more unctuous and false flattery than ever disgraced the Court of the worst despot who ever lived. The question with which I am here dealing is one about which it is vital for us to know the truth. We cannot get at it without searching investigation. When the truth has been established, unless the newspapers have previously issued an infallible decree in contravention of it, from which they will not recede, they will be

invaluable for bringing it home to their readers. From whom are we to get it?

I have set forth here the aspect which this question presents to me as a soldier. My object is to call upon the great profession whose immediate concern is health to give us the guidance and leading we need, and primarily it seems to me that we ought to call upon the Councils of the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, as *ex officio* the great National Boards of Health, to help and guide us. I should suppose that they have not at this moment, despite the census, sufficiently comprehensive data on which to pronounce, but if that be so no Government could or would wish to resist an appeal from them for assistance in getting at the truth on the tremendous question which has been raised by the investigations of Mr. Rowntree. "Is it" or is it not true that the whole labouring population of the land are "at present living under conditions which make it impossible that "they should rear the next generation to be sufficiently virile to "supply more than two out of five men effective for the purposes of "either peace or war?" We want the truth. For the reasons I have alleged, and many more that I could give, we shall never get it from newspaper discussions. What the actually best machinery may be for getting at the truth I do not pretend to determine. Mr. Booth may be right that the best line of action will be through the Registrar-General and the Board of Trade. The analogy I have drawn from the past as to the mode in which Mr. Henry Mayhew's inquiry became so effective that it revolutionised our whole industrial life immediately after the very date at which the physical revolt against it of the Chartist had hopelessly collapsed, may suggest another alternative. But by whatever means it be done we need an exhaustive investigation of the question, and one that will be so well brought home to the whole country that it shall no longer be allowed to sleep, with this nightmare troubling those only who love their land too well not to toss uneasily till it is removed. So far as the remedies are concerned it will be time enough to suggest them when we know where we stand. In the course of my investigation many remedies have been before me; but since I have gone more thoroughly into the evidence supplied by Mr. Booth, Mr. Rowntree, Mrs. Bosanquet, Mr. Sherwell and their fellow workers, I have thought that the most valuable service I could render was to show cause from my side of the question for supporting Mr. Charles Booth's demand for an enquiry with larger resources at its back than his own and applied to the whole country. I have had ringing in my ears a sentence which was written in a private letter from Charles Kingsley to Tom Hughes after they had both been for years throwing their energies into such questions, as loyal subjects of this great kingdom:—"My dear Tom, "there is more in the tripe of this old world than we shall drive out "of them by any Morrison's pill of ours," a sentence which no doubt

has in it something of that passing depression which habitually at times attacks the most enthusiastic reformers almost in proportion to their zeal. But it contains the essential truth that what we have to do, if we would make real way at all, is not to start some admirable theory of our own and try to make the world fit into it, but to study with patient research what the laws are that are governing it, and how in our time the footsteps of the Most High show themselves among the facts with which we have to deal. I may cite as an illustration of that thesis the experience of that society of men to which both Hughes and Kingsley belonged. The attempt to put into immediate practice certain theories of life which had flashed brilliantly before their eyes failed in almost every instance. The knowledge which they had acquired in the course of their efforts enabled them to contribute a momentous share to that fund of larger knowledge which was secured by national investigation, and in the long run it fell to one of the hardest workers among them, Mr. Ludlow, to draft the Bill for Mr. Slaney which produced that industrial revolution of which I have spoken. If by any similar investigation we could ascertain the true meaning of those figures, the 5—2, which I have given, it may be that we should be able to achieve a real step towards the securing of national health and thereby to the maintaining of a virile race able to hold for us and to hand down to our children's children the precious heirloom which has been handed down to us by virile forefathers.

FREDERICK MAURICE.

THE COMING STRUGGLE BETWEEN SLAV AND TEUTON.

IT is for two reasons of supreme importance to the British statesman to correctly understand the latent antagonism between Slav and Teuton as particularly perceptible in the mutual relations existing between Germany and Russia: first because the impending Slavo-Teuton struggle may become the hinge on which our whole foreign and Colonial policy will be found to turn; secondly, because Slav and Teuton do their best to deceive the world as to their conflicting interests and ambitions and their mutual antipathies and hatreds, because it is in the interests of both that outsiders should neither know the real relations existing between them nor the real sentiments which they have for one another. However, the various phases of the Slavo-Teuton contest for supremacy will be found a spectacle of absorbing interest not only for the statesman and the diplomat; the general public also should watch the preliminary moves and counter-moves of the two opposed races, and should follow the gradual development of the drama that may, and probably will, eventually culminate in a life and death struggle, which will prove unparalleled in the world's history for its magnitude and for its far-reaching consequences.

In order to understand the nature of the present relations between Slav and Teuton, and especially between Germany and Russia, we must glance at the historical developments of those relations. At a time when Germany was already highly advanced in civilisation, the territory adjoining Germany towards the east, which is now under the sway of Russia, was practically a savage country. That country was considered by the Germans of the Middle Ages as their domain, an undeveloped hinterland created by Providence to give an outlet to the overflow of German population, and German settlers who sought new homes emigrated eastward and settled down amongst the native Slavs. Between the twelfth and the eighteenth centuries practically the entire German emigration went eastward towards the lands of the Slav, and, as is usually the case, amongst those emigrants were to be

found the hardiest, ablest, and most enterprising of the race. The German knights established German rule amongst the eastern Slavs with the sword, and converted them by force to Christianity. They, were followed by German farmers and peasants, and where the newcomers settled down the wilderness was cleared, the land was brought under proper cultivation, roads were made, towns and harbours sprang up, schools and churches were erected, law courts were opened, trade and commerce flourished, a superior civilisation arose.

Recognising the civilising influence of the foreigners, skilled in many arts and crafts unknown to the natives, Russian rulers such as Ivan III. and IV., Peter the Great and Catherine II., attracted Germans to the country, and during the period of Russia's transition from barbarism to civilisation Germans were to be found everywhere in high offices, and were held in high esteem at Court. In fact, the Germans were, until lately, the ruling element in Russia, and were indispensable to the Russian Government.

Chiefly in the Baltic Provinces German civilisation became a powerful factor. As far back as 1630 the German University of Dorpat was founded, whilst the first Russian University, that of Moscow, was only established as late as 1755, and the numerous flourishing German towns and villages, with their German administrations, law courts, schools, and other institutions, spread Germanism far and wide. The official language in the Baltic Provinces was German, and German Protestantism was the leading religion of the inhabitants.

During the last hundred years, and especially since the accession to the throne of the Emperor Nicholas I., the relations between Russians and Germans in Russia have completely changed, for Russia has determinedly shaken herself free from foreign tutelage, and has set to work to Russianise the non-Russian elements of the Empire.

With the awakening of Russia to a sense of her own nationality, the Baltic Provinces soon lost the character of a German hinterland, and the chances for German immigrants became less favourable. Nevertheless German immigration, though much lessened, continued to flow towards Russia for a long time. During the twenty years between 1857 and 1876 no less than 4,606,000 Germans emigrated to Russia, whilst only 4,048,000 returned to Germany, leaving thus 558,000 Germans in Russia. Formerly Germans went to Russia because land was cheap and plentiful. Later on they rather went to the towns, where they are still strongly represented, especially in the more intellectual occupations. Amongst the Russian officials, scientists, professional men, artists, engineers, bankers, merchants, journalists, etc., the Germans are still to be found in proportionately extremely high numbers, which may be seen from the fact that as lately as 1884 no less than 46 German papers used to appear in Russia, 9 in the two capitals, and 37 in the provinces.

After Alexander III. ascended the throne in 1881 the Russification of the Baltic Provinces was undertaken with redoubled vigour, and with the same intolerable harshness with which, at present, the autonomy of Finland and the guaranteed liberties and privileges of the Finns are being destroyed. In 1874 marriages between Greek Orthodox people and Protestants were declared void, the building of new Lutheran churches was forbidden, the Minister of the Interior was empowered to depose Protestant clergymen; the German Corporation Schools were forcibly converted into Russian schools in 1887, the private schools were Russianised in 1889, and in the same year the formerly German University of Dorpat was deprived of its old autonomy and completely Russianised. The German local administration and jurisdiction were likewise destroyed root and branch, and the use of the German language was penalised. Germans who had held administrative or judicial appointments, as well as University professors and schoolmasters, were summarily dismissed, and were replaced by Russians. By an Imperial Ukase of the 24th May, 1886, the acquisition of land by foreigners in Western Russia was forbidden, and the German estate and factory managers and the German foresters were dismissed. The Russian language was made compulsory in the law courts of the Baltic Provinces, notwithstanding the fact that very often plaintiff and defendant understood only German. To obliterate the last vestige of Germanism the very names of the former German towns were Russianised. For instance Dorpat and Dünaburg were turned into Jurjew and Dwinsk.

Needless to say, the ruthless destruction of German culture and of the German nationality in the Baltic Provinces aroused the greatest indignation amongst the Germans in Germany, who with grief and rage saw their countrymen suffer. According to a statement of Bismarck the German inhabitants and their descendants in the Baltic Provinces counted more than three millions; according to Leroy-Beaulieu the Baltic Provinces were more German than Alsace-Lorraine. Consequently German patriots had hoped to see the vast territories which German industry had cultivated rejoin Germany some day by the gravitation of their German population. However, these hopes were shattered, and Germany became aware that she had not only lost strength by the emigration of many of her best citizens to Russia, but that she had also supplied her neighbour and prospective enemy with the intellectual leaven and the sinews for war. Germany had to look on whilst her former citizens were as completely absorbed into Russia by brute force, not by their own choice, as her latter-day emigrants have voluntarily merged themselves in the Anglo-Saxons of the United States and of the British Colonies.

It is therefore only natural that Germany is embittered against Russia on account of the ruthless destruction of the German element in the Baltic Provinces, but no less is Russia embittered against

Germany, for political reasons. Russia considers that she saved Prussia from total destruction by Napoleon in 1806 and 1807, and that she finally delivered her from the yoke of the French conqueror in the war of 1813 and 1814. Again, in 1870, had it not been for the friendly support of Russia, Germany might have found Austria, Italy, and Denmark ranged on the side of Napoleon III., and the Franco-German War might have had a very different issue.

It was, of course, not from merely sentimental reasons that Russia assisted Prussia against Napoleon I., and that she promised to Prussia her support in the event of other Powers assisting France in 1870. Prince Gortschakoff, like all statesmen in Europe, had been dazzled by Napoleon III.'s dramatic and well-advertised exploits in the Crimea, Italy, Algiers, and Mexico, and he believed the imposing figures as to the strength of the French Army which the *Journal Officiel* gave on the 16th of August, 1869, with deliberate intention to deceive the world. Besides, Russia, together with all other Powers, not only over-estimated the military strength of France, but underestimated at the same time the military strength of Germany. In fact it appears that Prince Gortschakoff desired to see France and Germany fight one another without external assistance in the hope that the Franco-German War would be long drawn out and exhausting to both parties, so that he might have a chance of stepping in when France and Germany were crippled, posing as the saviour of Germany, and arranging the terms of peace between the belligerents, with material advantage for Russia. That event, which would have meant the weakening of Germany at the peace, and the strengthening of Russia at the cost of Germany and France, would of course have been highly welcome to Russia.

The rapidity and completeness of the German victories frustrated Gortschakoff's scheme as completely as Napoleon III.'s plan to be the arbiter between Prussia and Austria in 1866, after both nations had become exhausted, was marred by the unexpected rapidity with which Prussia completely defeated Austria in only five weeks. Owing to Gortschakoff's miscalculation, Russia failed to receive the reward for her benevolent neutrality which she had hoped for. It is true that the German Emperor wrote some graceful letters to the Czar, and that Bismarck supported Russia in 1871, or rather did not oppose her, when she wanted to have Paragraph 11 of the Peace of Paris repealed in order to obtain freedom of action in the Black Sea, but that support in a minor question was hardly regarded by Russia as an adequate *quid pro quo* for the priceless services which she had rendered to Germany in 1870.

The consciousness of having rendered the most important services to Germany gratuitously, and of having strengthened her western neighbour to her own harm, was bound to cause great dissatisfaction in Russia. With his usual perspicacity and foresight Bismarck recog-

nised the existence of this feeling and the danger springing from it. Consequently he cast about for a common policy with Russia, and the revolution in Paris and the frightful excesses of the Commune suggested to him a happy idea. Incessantly the danger of international anti-monarchical movements was pointed out by him to the Russian Court in despatches and semi-official newspaper articles, as well as the danger to Russia, Germany, and Austria from Polish aspirations towards the foundation of an independent Poland. He suggested the opposing of an alliance of monarchs to the allied revolutionary forces which threatened all thrones, and, as his arguments received a timely point from the restlessness of German Socialists, Russian Nihilists and Polish agitators, he succeeded in convincing the Czar of his imminent danger, and a formal alliance between the three Emperors of Russia, Germany and Austria-Hungary was concluded in September, 1872. Thus the disappointment of Russia about the outcome of the Franco-German War had been skilfully relegated to the background. Nevertheless Russia's real feeling for Germany could not be repressed and became apparent in 1875 when war threatened to break out anew between France and Germany. At that time Russia threw her influence on the side of France, determined not to see Germany further strengthened. Again in 1886, when Boulanger seemed likely to become the ruler of France, Germany's attitude became distinctly aggressive, war seemed impending, and again the Russian semi-official Press declared in unmistakable language that Russia would not tolerate any further weakening of France.

Germany had disappointed Russia's hopes in 1870-71. All the more did Gortschakoff count upon Germany's gratitude in the future, especially as Bismarck was never tired of flattering the vain old gentleman whom he called his master in diplomacy. An occasion soon arose. In March, 1878, the Peace of San Stefano seemed to bring Constantinople into the grasp of Russia, and Russia's dream of centuries seemed at last to approach realisation. However, when the Russian armies were already in sight of Constantinople a British fleet appeared in the Bosphorus, the language of the British Government became threatening, and Count Andrassy obtained from the Austro-Hungarian Delegations a credit of sixty million florins for military purposes. The Dual Monarchy prepared herself for war with Russia.

Under those circumstances, Russia naturally looked to Germany for a proof of the gratitude which that country had so often professed for Russian services rendered in the past, for only the weight of Germany and the ability of Bismarck could turn the scales in favour of Russia, and enable her to reap the fruit of her victories. Russia expected this all the more as Bismarck had made the Russian Government to believe that Germany would assist Russia in conquering Constantinople, just as he had deluded Napoleon III. in 1866 into the belief that he would be allowed to take Belgium. The latter hope had

kept Napoleon quiet during the war between Austria and Prussia, the prospect of possessing Constantinople had made Russia assent to the Franco-German peace arrangements

However the Congress of Berlin proved to be a terrible disappointment to Russia. Bismarck presided but he did not help his former protector. Under the guise of the honest broker he succeeded in barring Russia's progress to Constantinople in securing Bosnia and Herzegovina for Austria-Hungary and in arranging the cession of Roumanian Bessarabia to Russia.

The effect of these arrangements was most advantageous to Germany and most disadvantageous to Russia. By pushing Austria-Hungary two hundred miles forward on the route to Constantinople, and by giving to her those Slavonic countries which Russia considered the fruit of her victories, Bismarck sowed hatred between Russia and Austria-Hungary, and prepared the way for a future defensive alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary, the conclusion of which the stipulations of the Berlin Congress had made inevitable. Besides, Bismarck had created a most intense hatred between Russia and Roumania, Russia's former ally, who was despoiled by Russia of Bessarabia after she had saved the Russian armies from destruction by the Turks.

The decisions of the Congress of Berlin to which Russia had looked with such high hopes were received in Russia with amazement and with the rage of despair. The lives of 200,000 soldiers had been sacrificed in vain. Only Germany and Austria-Hungary had profited from Russia's victories. The *Golos* wrote: "Russia has been deceived by 'her friends' and has foolishly helped her enemies by her victories." Prince Galitzine complained: "Bismarck has been only the honest 'broker' not Russia's friend and protector. In these hard times Russia 'had a right to expect more.'" Aksakoff, the father of Pan-Slavism, said: "The Congress has been an impertinent insult to Russia. 'Germany and the Western Powers have robbed Russia of the wreath 'of victory, and have put on her brow a fool's cap and bells.'" General Skobelev, the then prospective Commander in Chief for War, made shortly after the Russo-Turkish War a speech to the Servians in Paris in which he said: "In our house we are not at home. The foreigner 'meddles in everything.' We are his dupes in politics, we are victims 'of his intrigues, we are governed and paralysed to such an extent by 'his innumerable and pernicious influences that we can find deliverance only sword in hand. Do you wish to know the name of the 'foreigner, the intruder and the intriguer? It is the German. I 'repeat it and hope you will never forget it: our enemy is the German. 'The battle is unavoidable between German and Slav, and it will be 'long, bloody, and terrible, but the Slav will triumph.'"

The Anti-German movement in Russia found a corresponding echo in Germany. The *Leipziger Zeitung* of the 24th of August, 1882, said,

in Bismarck's personal style: "A war with Russia does not lie within the sphere of impossibilities. The revolutionary tendencies in the Russian people, the bankruptcy of the Russian administration, the distress of the Russian people, the sorry figure Russia cut in the Russo-Turkish War, and the whole nature of an empire which requires constant expansion and covets the German harbours in the Baltic . . . tend towards driving Russia into war. . . . The sentiment of the country favours such an enterprise, for the hatred against German, which has ever been present and popular in Russia, is now being systematically cultivated." Numerous books and pamphlets, violently anti-Russian, were issued in Germany. The motto of "the German war with Russia," Leipzig, 1882, was: "the security of Europe demands the annihilation of Russia as a European great power." The leading note in *Russland am Scheidewege*, Berlin, 1888, is, "Between Germany and Russia there exist not differences of opinion on isolated questions of policy and statesmanship which can be settled in one or the other way, but deep-seated inefaceable contrasts of race and culture which irresistibly press towards an open conflict."

Up to 1877 Russia had seen in Germany a friend; from the Berlin Congress onward Russia began to consider Germany as a stealthy and very dangerous enemy. Russia's mental attitude towards Germany and Austria-Hungary may be expressed in the celebrated phrase of Gortschakoff after the Crimean War: "La Russie ne boude pas, elle se recueille." From 1879 onward the concentration of enormous masses of troops on the German and Austrian frontier was begun by Russia, and the Three Emperors Alliance, concluded in 1872, was followed on the 7th October, 1879, by a defensive alliance between Austria and Germany directed against Russia.

Whilst Bismarck protected Germany against the danger of an actual attack from Russia he tried at the same time, with consummate skill, to divert Russia's animosity against Germany into other channels. As he directed French attention towards the conquest of a colonial empire, and successfully used the Egyptian question in order to sow hatred between France and Great Britain, even so he succeeded in persuading Russia that Great Britain was her irreconcilable enemy, and did all he could do to accentuate the differences existing between Russia and this country. In fact, by Bismarck's genius Great Britain was made the lightning conductor which sheltered the German house against the dangers which threatened it from both France and Russia. It is believed that Germany fanned the Pro-Boer agitation in Russia for similar reasons.

From the foregoing it seems clear that the dislike existing between Germany and Russia has a historical foundation, and that Germany as well as Russia has much reason to complain. At the same time it must be remembered that historical differences existing between two

nations are soon forgotten if their present material interests and their political ambitions do not clash. Whatever their differences may have been in the past, nations can live in peace and forget old wrongs if their living interests be not antagonistic. To find out whether German and Russian interests, or rather the interests of Slav and Teuton, are compatible or incompatible, we have to look at the Slavo-Teuton question, and to weigh against one another the national as well as the racial interests, aims and ambitions of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia.

Up to the time of Russia's national awakening the vast stretches of country east of the present German frontier were considered as Germany's preserve, and little was feared from the uncivilised and unorganised tribes living in the east. All danger to Germany came from the west. France, which had invaded and ravaged Germany innumerable times, was the dreaded and hated hereditary enemy, the "Erbfeind" of Germany. Since then Germany's position has considerably changed. The defeats of 1870—71 have given to France a terrible lesson, Germany is no longer divided against herself, and the German population being now nearly fifty per cent. larger than that of France, French aggression is no longer feared by Germany.

At the present time the German population is increasing extremely rapidly, the average increase amounting to 800,000 per annum. As Germany is determined to remain a great power, and is loth to strengthen other countries with her surplus population as she has done in the past, she strives to acquire territories suitable for white settlers, and to strengthen the German nationality wherever possible. Consequently, she can neither tolerate that the German race be confined within narrow bounds, nor that part of the race be crushed out of existence by another race.

From the German point of view the ever-growing power of Russia, which has so suddenly arisen out of nothing on her eastern frontier, is therefore considered Germany's greatest danger, not only from a national but also from a racial point of view, especially as Russia has shown a marvellous ability both for disintegrating her neighbouring nations by Pan-Slavic agitation and intrigue and by the propaganda of her Church, and for rapidly Russianising and absorbing other races within her own border. It is therefore only natural that German statesmen should contemplate with grave concern the dissolving influence exercised by Russia upon the Balkan States and Austria-Hungary, and the rapid destruction and assimilation of other races and nationalities dwelling within her borders.

For Austria-Hungary the Russo-Slavonic danger is even greater than it is for Germany, because she offers a greater scope to the destructive activity of Pan-Slavism. Germany is a country having nearly 60,000,000 inhabitants, out of whom only 3,000,000, the Poles, are Slavs, yet the existence of even such a small number of Slavs gives to

the German Government no little anxiety, as may be seen from its anti-Polish policy. How much greater then must be the Slavonic danger to Austria-Hungary, seeing that out of 47,000,000 inhabitants about 22,000,000 are Slavs, as compared with only 11,500,000 Germans and 8,000,000 Magyars.

The Pan-Slavistic movement has already taken deep root among the Slavs of the Dual Monarchy; in fact, it may be said that Pan-Slavism was originated in that country, not in Russia. Ian Collar, the poet of Pan-Slavism, was born in Hungary, and worked in Vienna and Prague, and the first Pan-Slavistic Congress took place in Prague in June, 1848, since when Pan-Slavistic teachings have widely spread.

The Austro-Hungarian Slavs belong to various nationalities and speak various languages. Consequently, though they are numerically the strongest power in the country, the Government in Vienna has so far been able to turn the divisions of the Austro-Hungarian Slavs into several nations, speaking different languages, to good account, and in spite of their great numerical preponderance the Slavs in Austria-Hungary do not enjoy autonomy and privileges similar to those possessed by the Austrian Germans and by the Magyars of Hungary. It is therefore only natural that the Slavs in Austria-Hungary, especially the Czechs in Bohemia, should be dissatisfied with their political position, and cast longing eyes eastward towards the "Czar Liberator." The Russophile movement in Austria-Hungary is especially noticeable in Bohemia, and is too well known to be enlarged upon. In a country distracted by the violent strife of nationalities, where more than a dozen different languages are spoken, where one officer of the Imperial Army often does not understand the other, a largely disaffected and Russophile Slavonic element, counting 22,000,000, is particularly unfortunate and very dangerous.

Seventy-five years ago Field Marshal Radetzky, Austria's greatest general since the Archduke Charles, embodied in two masterly Memoirs, entitled "Reflections on Fortresses" and "Consideration of the Military Position of Austria," his ideas as to the future political and military relations between Russia and his country. History has already proved in part the correctness of Radetzky's views and the soundness of his forecasts. Therefore it will be interesting to consider the chief points of those Memoirs, which are equally applicable to the present day. The Field Marshal says:—

... Owing to her geographical position Russia is the national and eternal enemy of Turkey. The huge territory of that Empire can only send its produce through the narrow gates of the Baltic, and through the Bosphorus. Russia must therefore do all she can to take possession of Constantinople, for its possession grants to her the necessary security and territorial completeness.

The so-called Oriental Programme has often been adjourned at St. Petersburg but has never been dropped. The anxiety of Europe,

in view of the immense Russian preponderance cannot be hidden. Everywhere plans of defence are being prepared against the threatening spectre.

Russia is no doubt the most dangerous neighbour of Austria, and nothing is more unlikely than that we shall remain constantly at peace with her. Already her population is twice as large as ours, and the high birth rate of Russia must double her population in fifty-four years, and quadruple it in one hundred and eight years. She also possesses the possibility of becoming the richest nation in the world by paying due attention to her agriculture and her other industries.

In our own country a powerful element extends from the Bukowina to Croatia, related to the Russians by religion and language, and this powerful element is in favour of Russia. All these circumstances force us to the conclusion that Russia is the power from which the greatest peril threatens us.

Russia's geographical position makes it indispensable for her to keep open the Bosphorus and the Sound. She can only secure the former by dividing its shores between two independent powers, or by taking possession of it. Austria might permit the former, and might also permit Russia to possess an isolated fortress on the Straits similar to Gibraltar. But Austria can never tolerate that Russia should incorporate Turkey in part or whole, for in that case Austria would be hemmed in and controlled by Russia.

The Danube is Austria's main artery. Its lower reaches in the Black Sea are as necessary to Austria as the Sound and the Dardanelles are to Russia, and, in order to utilise the Danube freely, Austria requires also the free use of the Dardanelles. Hence it follows that the conflicting interests of Austria and Russia must lead to war unless both nations be able to arrive at an agreement with regard to Turkey.

The energetic and statesmanlike views of Radetzky used to be the views of the leading circle in Austria-Hungary. If formerly one mentioned to an Austrian the possibility that Constantinople might some day become Russian one was assured: "the way to Constantinople goes *via* Vienna." At that time the disintegration of Austria, the strife among her numerous nationalities, and the corroding influence of Pan-Slavism were less in evidence than they are now. Austria-Hungary still felt strong for action. Since then she has become more and more conscious of her internal irreconcilable dissensions. It is even doubted in Austria whether some of her Slavonic troops would fire on Russians. The Dual Monarchy has become aware that she is neither a nation nor a union of nations, but an ill-assorted assemblage of quarrelsome peoples devoid of any common bond, either of language, religion, race, history, or policy. In fact, Austria-Hungary is little more than a dynastic expression. Hence it comes that the time of a bold and active policy for Austria-Hungary may be considered as past.

The only care of her Government is to keep together what it has—if possible. Besides, Austria-Hungary remembers too well her defeats at Marengo, Solferino, and Königgrätz. With her losses of territory and prestige she has also lost courage, especially as her present, and still more her prospective, ruler has hardly the spirit required to initiate an energetic national policy.

Austrian politicians consequently look on the power of Russia and on the steady advance of Pan-Slavism in their own country with silent dread, whilst the Austrian Slavs greet with joy every step of their country towards Russification. In consequence of this helpless and precarious position Austria-Hungary has become an absolutely trustworthy ally, one might even say an ever obedient satellite, of Germany.

In Bismarck's time German diplomacy used to declare that the Eastern Question was of no interest to Germany, and even now similar declarations are frequently made in Berlin. But as a matter of fact the Eastern Question appears to be of the greatest importance to Germany, though German statesmen think it injudicious to say so. If Constantinople should fall into the hands of Russia the Balkan States, the inhabitants of which are of the same race and religion as the Russians, would also soon become Russian, and Austria-Hungary would find herself surrounded on three sides by Russia. The Slavonic people of Austria-Hungary, who are already straining at the leash, would soon become unmanageable, the various nationalities in Austria-Hungary would lose all cohesion, the powerful Slavonic tribes would naturally gravitate towards Russia, and in the end the Germans in Austria-Hungary, isolated and but 11,500,000 in number, would share the fate of their countrymen in the Baltic Provinces. Constantinople in Russian hands means the eventual Russification of the Dual Monarchy.

Germany cannot, of course, view with equanimity the possibility of seeing herself deprived of a reliable ally, of being in the end isolated and hemmed in by an immense Russian empire, and of seeing 11,500,000 Germans in Austria-Hungary absorbed by Russia, and lost to Germanism. Therefore, though the realisation of that consummation would appear to be a long distance ahead, it is of the highest importance to Germany to see Russia's path to Constantinople barred, for its possession would strengthen her immensely, and would mean the greatest danger to the German nation and to the German race.

Germany has no desire to quarrel with her Eastern neighbour if she can help it, and she therefore tries, and will always continue to try, to avoid war with Russia, and to persuade other nations that it is their greatest interest, but no interest of Germany, to keep Russia out of Constantinople. Germany desires to avoid a war with Russia for very good reasons. France will probably remain a faithful ally to Russia as long as Russia remains solvent, and Germany is aware that the issue of a war with France and Russia combined would be doubtful. In any case, such a war would prove exhausting to Germany, and would mean

the loss of much trade, and general impoverishment of the country. Besides, even if Germany should be victorious, she could neither recoup her losses by exacting an indemnity from Russia, nor by annexing territories peopled by unmanageable Poles. Bismarck said truly : " Russia has nothing that Germany desires."

It is clear that a German-Russian war would certainly not only be risky but also very unprofitable to Germany. Therefore Germany tries her hardest to maintain her " traditional friendship " with her Eastern neighbour, and the dynastic relations between the two nations are, at least as regards the protestations made in Berlin, most cordial. Nevertheless, in spite of these outwardly cordial relations, and in spite of the numerous assertions that the question of Constantinople does not concern her, Germany has strengthened Turkey very materially by building strategical railways for her, and by supplying her with officers and arms, notwithstanding the fact that Russia desires the decay of Turkey in order to step easily into Constantinople.

Germany's policy at Constantinople is distinctly and intentionally anti-Russian. Its true character was revealed shortly after the present German Emperor had come to the throne. At that time the relations between Russia and Germany were somewhat strained. The visit which the German Emperor had paid to St. Petersburg from the 19th to the 24th of July, 1888, had given rise to some very unpleasant scenes, and it had only been returned after fifteen months, on October 11th, 1889, in the most perfunctory manner. The tardiness and coldness of this visit was considered a deliberate slight to Germany. Immediately after the Czar's visit William II. paid a visit to the Sultan from the 2nd to the 6th November, and his reception at Constantinople was splendid and truly national. The German Emperor was greeted by the Sultan and the people as the friend and benefactor, one might almost say as the protector, of Turkey. The political meaning of his visit was unmistakable, and it was felt in Russia as a severe defeat.

In 1877-78 Russia found it already difficult enough to defeat the Turkish armies. In a future war Russia might find the task of penetrating to Constantinople overland still more difficult. The Turkish army is now composed of 262,000 officers and men in peace, and of 1,310,000 in war, with 1,530 guns. The whole of this vast army can be mobilised in from two to three months, and, according to the best information available, 355,000 infantry, 14,000 cavalry, and 948 guns could be collected near Constantinople within two or three weeks, reinforced by 100,000 Albanians and Asiatic Redifs. Quick-firing guns are being introduced into the artillery. For the use of the infantry there are in existence 920,000 Mauser rifles, with a reserve of 500,000 Martini-Henry and Peabody rifles. The store of ammunition is ample, and amounts to 500,000 cartridges per rifle. The spirit of the Turkish Army is excellent, as could be seen in the Greco-Turkish War of 1897.

In view of the excellence of the Turkish Army it is only natural that Russia should contemplate approaching Constantinople by sea, a contingency which Bismarck foretold as early as the spring of 1891. The recent embarkation manœuvres in the Black Sea on a vast scale and the constant keeping in readiness of much shipping for purposes of military transportation are of great significance. It is believed that Russia is able to embark 100,000 men in the Black Sea ports at the shortest notice.

Apart from strengthening Turkey and making her a bulwark of Germanism, Germany has staked out claims in Asia Minor. In fact, Germany hopes to find in Asia Minor in course of time those colonies, able to receive her surplus population, which she so ardently desires. In this connection it should be remembered that though Constantinople is not the key of the world, it is certainly strategically and commercially the key of Asia Minor. If Russia should occupy Constantinople, she always could, and certainly would, cut off the approach to Asia Minor from Germany and Austria-Hungary, and unless Great Britain should interfere, Asia Minor would undoubtedly fall into the hands of Russia after she had taken Constantinople. Therefore it is clear that Russia's occupation of Constantinople would mean for Germany not only the prospective break-up of Austria-Hungary and her final absorption by Russia, but also the shattering of Germany's hopes of colonisation in Asia Minor. In other words, if Russia should occupy Constantinople, Germany's expansion in and out of Europe might become impossible. Unable to expand, Germany would soon fall to the rank of a second-rate power, and would continue to strengthen the Anglo-Saxon nations with her surplus population.

Germany is fully aware that if she gave a free hand to Russia to absorb gradually Turkey, the Balkan States, Asia Minor, and perhaps also Austria-Hungary in part or in whole, Russia's successes would only serve to increase her appetite, and that she would finally encroach on German territory. She might for instance raise a claim on behalf of the kingdom of Poland, which included large parts of the German provinces of Ost-Preussen, West-Preussen, and Posen. Consequently Germany is determined to stop at any price the strengthening, not the growth, of Russia, indirectly as long as she can, and directly as soon as she must.

Russia's extensions of territory in Asia have been welcome to Germany, for it is evidently an advantage to Germany if Russia incurs new responsibilities and creates for herself new enemies, such as Japan. Russia's Asiatic possessions, instead of being a source of strength, are a source of weakness, to her. Instead of enriching the State they impoverish it by necessitating vast administrative expenses. Besides, Russia is compelled to maintain in Asia at huge cost 130,000 soldiers who otherwise might become available against a European enemy. It is therefore clear that it is in the interest of Germany to see Russia in

difficulties in Asia with any power, Great Britain included. Hence the Anti-British attitude of Count Waldersee in China.

In view of Germany's position and her Russian policy, it was only to be expected that she would give to the "Yangtse Agreement" an interpretation which astonished our Foreign Office, but which did not surprise those who understand the Russo-German relations. The conclusion of the "Yangtse Agreement" by Great Britain was a proof of official optimism which nothing could justify.

Russia had been deceived by Germany's attitude up to the Congress of Berlin but no later. Since then she has formed the decided opinion that Germany is her worst enemy, that the opposition to her progress towards Constantinople is organised in Berlin, that Great Britain and Austria-Hungary are less interested in Constantinople than Germany, that in fact the way to Constantinople goes *via* Berlin. From that time onward German assurances of friendship have been more or less politely acknowledged by Russia, and the cordial effusions of William II. have been coolly, sometimes frigidly, returned, but at the same time the garrisons facing the German and Austrian frontiers have been enormously strengthened. Everything has been prepared for war with Germany. The garrisons of the three Western districts of Russia, Warsaw, Vilna, and Kieff, have been increased in the following manner:—

1879	14	divisions of infantry,	8½	divisions of cavalry.
1889	25	" " "	10	" " "
1900	31	" " "	16	" " "

The troops of the last year given comprise 607 battalions of infantry, 408 squadrons of cavalry, 295 batteries of artillery, and other arms.

It would be difficult to state the exact number of men and horses massed against the German frontier, as the strength of the different units is kept secret, and is quietly increased or lessened according to the political outlook, but it may be assumed that about 600,000 men, with 100,000 horses and 2,360 field guns, are at present assembled within easy reach of the Austro-German frontier. How immense these figures are, even for Russia, may be seen from the fact that only 17 divisions of infantry and 4 divisions of cavalry remained in 1900 for the garrisoning of the immense territory of European Russia outside the districts of Warsaw, Vilna, and Kieff. In fact, about two-thirds of Russia's European army are massed on the small piece of territory mentioned, ready to strike at any moment. In the immediate vicinity of the German frontier 150 battalions of infantry, 140 squadrons of cavalry, and 50 batteries of field artillery are stationed. At a few hours' notice 20,000 Russian horsemen could cross into Germany, followed within a few days by huge armies. Preparations of such volume and such completeness are not made for defensive purposes.

Russia's military position is a particularly happy one, and

resembles that of the United States. Neither of these countries can be successfully invaded because of the vast extent of their territory, nor can they be starved into submission, as they are practically self-supporting and self-sufficing. It follows therefore that if Russia wishes to remain peaceful her standing army, like that of the United States, need only be so strong as to be able to police the wilder districts of the country. That Russia, notwithstanding her great poverty, maintains in peace time a standing army of no less than 42,000 officers and 1,073,000 men, is an eloquent proof of her bellicose intentions.

Russia is the only country in Europe which does not require a large army for defence. St. Petersburg is 450 miles and Moscow 600 miles distant from the nearest point of the German frontier. From Austria-Hungary the distances to St. Petersburg and Moscow are still greater, namely, 650 and 700 miles. On the other hand Russian troops would only have to march 190 miles to Berlin and 200 miles to either Budapest or Vienna. Apart from the great advantage of distance, the Russian army would have the further advantage that it could easily live on the country in Germany and Austria-Hungary, while a large invading force could not live on the country in Russia. Furthermore Russia could prolong the war indefinitely after the fall of her capitals, as did the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, whilst Germany or Austria-Hungary could certainly not survive the fall of Berlin or Vienna. Lastly Russia possesses no territory that her neighbours covet. It is therefore clear that her vast army is meant for aggressive purposes.

Russia's political and warlike activity springs from the natural circumstances of the country and of the people and from the ambitions of her rulers. Her territory is immense and her population is large and rapidly increasing. Its past increase may be seen and its future increase be gauged from the following figures —

1762	19 000 000 inhabitants
1796	36,000,000
1815	45,000,000
1835	60 000,000
1851	68,000,000
1859	74 000,000
1900	129,000,000

If we bear in mind how sparsely Russia is as yet inhabited, and that the Russian birth rate is 49·5 per 1,000 as compared with only 28·9 per 1,000 in the United Kingdom, it becomes clear how rapidly Russia's population may increase in the future, especially when prosperity and education effect a fall in the death rate, which is at present as high as 31·4.

The vastness of Russia's territory, the magnitude of her population, the immensity of her national resources, and the potentialities of the

Empire make it only natural that Russia has a boundless confidence in the future of her race and country. Naturally, her statesmen have ambitions commensurate with the size of the State. These ambitions are two in number: a free opening towards the Mediterranean, and Russia's dominion over all Slavs. Russia has proved the former ambition in numerous wars; the latter ambition is evidenced by the fact that she undertook the war of 1877-8 for the deliverance of her Slav brothers "of a people of the same race and having the same "religion," as Grand Duke Nicholas said at the Shipka celebrations a few weeks ago. As a matter of fact, these two ambitions are one in practice. It has been shown before that the possession of Constantinople would bring about Russia's gradual absorption of all Slavonic nations. It is equally clear that the incorporation with Russia of all Slavonic nations which hem in Turkey would mean in the end an easy conquest of Constantinople.

Russia's policy, though bewildering to the casual observer, is only natural and logical, if we bear in mind that the possession of Constantinople is her constant aim, and that her Asiatic adventures are either idle conquests "*pour passer le temps*," like that of Manchuria, or deliberate moves in the great game for Constantinople, like her occasional demonstrations against India, or her progress in Persia. It is of course worth her while to secure an alternative land route towards Constantinople, and to intimidate in advance Great Britain into acquiescence in her final step.

The possession of Constantinople would mean far more for Russia than a commercial outlet towards the Mediterranean; it would mean that an enemy would no longer be able to attack Russia in the Black Sea, at present her only vulnerable point, whilst Russia would always be able to raise enormous armaments unnoticed on the shores of the Black Sea, and throw them on an enemy without warning. The possession of Constantinople would give to Russia an impregnable defence, and enable her to menace Europe constantly. Therefore it might give to Russia the control of the Mediterranean, and make it a Russian lake. In view of these considerations it was only natural that General Skobelev should declare: "Russia's frontiers will never be secure from attack until she holds the Bosphorus."

Apart from strategical considerations Russia wishes to remain a European great power. The possession of Constantinople would give to her a centre worthy of the Empire, and the splendour of the Byzantine Empire of old might be renewed in Russia. Though the possession of Constantinople would not give to Russia the dominion of the world, it would probably give to her the dominion of Europe and of Asia.

Evidently the possession of Constantinople is worth playing for. Russia has played for it during a century, and it has cost her dearly. Russia's ambition to possess Constantinople has created her immense

army. The creation of her immense army has necessitated an immense administrative machine and strategical railways. Chiefly in consequence of Russia's passionate desire to reach Constantinople, her national debt has risen from nothing at the time of her bankruptcy in 1843 to £656,547,764 in 1901, and her national expenditure has increased from £91,314,000 in 1885 to no less than £199,417,000 in 1900. Russia pursues her aim with that tenacity of purpose which is one of her characteristics.

If we consider Russia's policy we must at least give a parting glance to the intellectual leader of her policy. The leading statesman in Russia is not her Minister for Foreign Affairs, but K. Pobiedonostzoff, the Procurator of the Holy Synod. Having been a teacher of Alexander III. in 1860, Pobiedonostzoff's direct and indirect influence over the reigning family and over the Russian Government has been very powerful under Alexander II. and Alexander III., and continues to be so under Nicholas II. That is said to be the reason why the policy of the Russian Foreign Office under Giers, Lobanoff, Mouravieff, and Lamsdorff has shown such remarkable uniformity. Pobiedonostzoff is an absolutist and a zealot, who combines with the zeal of the fanatic the subtlety of the diplomat. Theologically he considers the Russian Church as the only true church in Christendom, as willed by God and proved by History. He considers himself as a man with a great and glorious mission—to Russianise the world—and he is aware that nothing can further his plans more than Russia's conquest of Constantinople. A man with such views and such a character is extremely dangerous to the peace of Europe.

When Russian and German statesmen dispassionately survey the past and consider the aims and ambitions of their country, Russian statesmen will probably bitterly regret that they have strengthened Germany in the past, and German statesmen will as strongly regret that they have not succeeded in weakening Russia more than they have done. Only in one point Russian and German statesmen may be found to agree, and that is in the conviction that the interests of Slav and Teuton are diametrically opposed and irreconcilable, that the Slav bars the way of the Teuton and the Teuton bars the way of the Slav towards development and power, that only one of the two races can live and prosper, and that therefore a struggle for life and death between them is unavoidable.

The apparently irresistible progress of Russia in every direction seems to many people as great a menace to liberalism, freedom of thought, and toleration—one might almost say to the civilisation and progress of the world—as was the victorious progress of the Turks in the Middle Ages. However, the triumphant advance of the Turks was stopped by Germanic nations on German soil. History may repeat itself, and Germany may be destined to save Europe from invasion for the second time. Perhaps the Russian nightmare will end like the

Turkish bubble, and future generations may wonder that barbarism ever could have been so strong.

If we review the Slavo-Teuton problem in all its bearings it would seem that the differences existing between Slav and Teuton can only be decided by war. That these differences should be settled by mutual agreement appears unlikely in view of the narrow theatre of Europe in which the main interests of both races are centred.

The development of the coming struggle between Slav and Teuton should be watched by Great Britain with the equanimity of a disinterested spectator. It would seem the height of folly if she should unnecessarily join the fray. Likewise it would seem the height of folly if Great Britain should come into collision with either Russia or Germany before the great struggle between Slav and Teuton has been decided. An Anglo-Russian war would only serve to further Germany's plans, and put Constantinople in her reach, if not in her actual possession; likewise, an Anglo-German war would only benefit Russia, and enable her to take Constantinople.

As the Teutonic and the Slavonic elements of Europe, with their allies and possible allies, are about equally strong, Great Britain can well afford to leave the settlement of the Eastern question in the hands of the Continental nations, which are most directly interested in it. In fact, Slav and Teuton, with their following, are so well matched that both must avoid serious entanglements with third nations lest the other should raise the Eastern Question. If Great Britain keeps aloof from both camps neither Russia nor Germany will be able to disturb the peaceful development of the British Empire, and in the struggle between Slav and Teuton Great Britain will become the balance-holder and will enjoy all the advantages springing from that position.

Naturally enough we shall be told by our Russian friends that Germany is our dangerous rival in trade. On the other hand our German friends will point out to us that our position in the Mediterranean would be endangered if Russia should occupy Constantinople. The former argument hardly needs an answer; the latter argument is no doubt weighty, and it will certainly appeal to many Englishmen. However, this argument should be refuted by one of greater strength. Those who wish to draw us into the Slavo-Teutonic struggle, which after all does not concern us, should be told that the Russian occupation of Constantinople threatens only a British Trade route, which is not of vital importance to the Empire, but that it threatens at the same time Germany's national existence and the future of the German race.

In view of these circumstances it would seem that Great Britain would be well advised to regard the Eastern Question with indifference, and that British diplomacy should declare what German diplomacy has so loudly and so frequently declared: The question of Constantinople is of no immediate interest to Great Britain.

QUIDAM.

THE BRUSSELS SUGAR CONVENTION.

THE hurried vote by which the House of Commons on the 24th November resolved to ratify the Brussels Sugar Convention is a startling illustration of the rapidity with which old ideas of commercial policy are being swept away. One would think that some crisis had arisen impelling us to act with speed. But nothing of the kind is alleged; there is no new circumstance; no fresh argument has been brought forward. Until the closed discussion took place neither Parliament nor the public had noticed what was impending, and it is only now, when it is too late, that the country is beginning to wake up to the serious nature of the stealthy step which the Government have taken.

Since 1850 bounties of various kinds have been paid by European Governments with a view of stimulating the production of sugar from beetroot. In the early stages these payments were made merely to assist agriculture and with but little idea of the development that would take place in the new system of cultivation. The application of scientific methods, however, produced the most extraordinary results in the quantity of sugar that could be extracted. At first the proportion was only about 4 or 5 per cent., but this greatly increased, until now, in some cases, 14 per cent. is obtained and the prosecution of the industry has spread from one country to another, until Great Britain is almost the only European State in which it has not been established. Although certain improvements have taken place, there has been no corresponding increase in the quantity of sugar extracted from the sugar-cane, with the result, that out of a total world's consumption last year of 8,500,000 tons of sugar, it is estimated that 6,000,000 tons were obtained from beet. The effect of this new cultivation on the countries in which it is carried on can easily be imagined. At first the idea was only to supply the home demand, but as the production of the sugar-cane was gradually excluded by the more abundant and excellent quality of the home produce, the idea of setting up an export trade was developed.

but as each of the neighbouring States pursued a policy of Protection every frontier was closed except that of Great Britain. This country, therefore, became the recipient of an ever-increasing quantity of sugar, and the keenest rivalry sprang up between France, Germany, Austria, Belgium and Holland to supply her wants. In a Board of Trade Memorandum (422) published in 1881, estimates are given of the amount of the export Bounties then paid. A glance at the Table shows how difficult it was, as it still remains, to ascertain the true amount. For France alone twelve estimates are given, varying from 12s. up to £5 4s. 7d. per ton. Belgium appears to have paid three different rates of bounty, ranging from £3 to £7, Holland £2, Germany from 16s. 8d. to £2, and Austria from 30s. to £10. Each State pursued a different method, and changes were constantly being made, no doubt with a view of relieving the Governments of burdens, which, small at the commencement, soon became extremely onerous.

It is very interesting to observe that the development of beet-sugar production conferred, probably, greater benefits on the United Kingdom than on any of the countries in which the industry was carried on. The price of sugar fell to such a point that it became obtainable in England for half or one-third the price at which it could be bought by the people who lived where it was produced. Thus, advantages of a different kind, but quite as remarkable in their effects on the nation, were secured by us. Great manufactures sprang up, such as confectionery, chocolate-making, biscuits, mineral waters, brewing and fruit preserving, in which sugar was used as a raw material. So great was the expansion that the average consumption of sugar per head of the population in the United Kingdom increased from 40 pounds in the year 1860 to 90 pounds in the year 1901, and this figure may be compared with 66 pounds in the United States, 66 pounds in Switzerland, in Denmark, 36 pounds; in France, 29 pounds; in Germany, 28 pounds; and in Holland, 28 pounds. In some of the larger confectionery manufactories from 2,000 to 6,000 hands are employed, and it is estimated that quite 250,000 persons are engaged in the various industries founded on sugar. Naturally, it is, to a large extent, a home trade—nevertheless, an export business of great magnitude has also arisen, so that many of the articles enumerated are sold by us not only to distant parts of the world, but also to the countries from which we obtain the sugar out of which they are made. Surely there could be no more remarkable an illustration of the benefits this country has obtained through its Free Trade policy.

Our Government was not unmindful of what was going on. Throughout the Sixties and the Seventies its attention was called to the matter both by sugar producers and refiners, but protection could not be extended to these classes without regard to the larger interests of the nation. In 1880 a Committee of the House of Commons reported that the "Home and Colonial sugar industries had been seriously injured by

"foreign bounties" and that "countervailing" duties should be set up to neutralise them. A strong minority of the Committee, however, condemned such a course. The Board of Trade issued a Memorandum in 1881 stating that the effect of the alleged bounties had been to cheapen the price of sugar, and that "as the policy of this country has been for many years to prefer the large consuming interests of the whole community to the small producing interests of any single class, the Government were not prepared to recommend any remonstrance to foreign Governments regarding their bounties." The difficult question of a "countervailing" duty was also examined, and it was pointed out that no duty could be conceived which would correspond with the bounties, the different amounts of which were not known, still less the amount of duty which would be necessary in order to neutralise them. Even where bounties are admitted to exist, they differ not only in each different country, but in different seasons, times, and circumstances in the same country; on different quantities of the raw material; and almost, it may be said, on every parcel of sugar." Further, the highest legal authority informed the Ministry that to impose such a duty as was asked for would be contrary to the "most favoured nation" clause in existing commercial treaties. For all these reasons the Government emphatically declined to take any step in the matter. Mr. Chamberlain, who was then President of the Board of Trade, personally went even further, and stated in a speech at Birmingham, "that he would not be made the instrument of what is essentially a class interest," that its effects would be "that the consumers in this country, principally of the working-classes, would have to submit to a tax of something like one million sterling per annum in order to put this sum in the pockets of the West Indian planters and a few sugar refiners." This Memorandum came to be regarded by the sugar importers of this country as the charter of their liberties; large amounts of capital have been invested during the last twenty years on the faith of its guarantees, so that any hurried reversal of its policy, such as the Convention proposes, would amount to confiscation on a vast scale.

The appeal to the Government in 1880 came from the same producers in the West Indies, and refiners at home had from the first agitated against the free importation of sugar; in the agitation the names of Mr.—now Sir Neville—Lubbock and Mr. Martineau were constantly recurring. These business men, who looked at the matter from a purely commercial standpoint, were, no doubt, recruited by the Protectionists in Parliament and in the Press, but these need not detain us. The agitation of 1880 was largely founded on complaints apparently from the West Indies, and the Board of Trade Memorandum previously quoted deals with this question. Referring to a Report from a Sugar Industries Committee it states, "that all the witnesses agree in looking forward to a general abandonment of sugar cultivation should the present state of things continue." It quotes an estimate that in ten

years one half of the production of the West Indies would be destroyed, that "an abandonment of estates has begun, and particularly in Jamaica the ruin would be widespread." The Board of Trade dealt with these complaints by quoting a well-informed writer in *The Westminster Review*, of July, 1881, who was able to show that all the statements were greatly exaggerated. "In Jamaica only four estates of very small size are abandoned," and it concluded that the West Indian sugar industry "is in a far better and far healthier plight than it has been before." After twenty years, during which the bounties have been maintained in full vigour, we are able to see which side had the best of the argument. The ten years have passed, but the West Indies remain, and Jamaica, particularly, is climbing by other means than sugar, which now forms only ten per cent. of its total exports, into a satisfactory and prosperous condition.

Let us, however, turn to the present campaign. The first official document published is an appeal for relief from owners of sugar estates in British Guiana, dated the 18th October, 1894. This is addressed to Lord Ripon, who was then Colonial Secretary. It is on the old model of the complaint from Jamaica of fifteen years previously, and to understand its origin it is only necessary to say that large estates in Demerara are owned by the Colonial Company, of which Sir Neville Lubbock is chairman. In February and March, 1896, Antigua and St. Nevis-Kitts take up the complaint. In June the change of Government takes place, and in September, 1895, when Barbados and Jamaica join the string of suppliants, their appeals are addressed to Mr. Chamberlain who has become Colonial Secretary. In 1896 the Windward Islands and St. Vincent state their "serious apprehensions," above all pointing to the continued immigration of 5,000 labourers per annum, and indicating that if something is not done immediately the whole population will be reduced to starvation. Equal activity is displayed at home. The West Indian Association of Glasgow and Liverpool, and, above all, the Anti-Bounty League in London, of which Sir Neville Lubbock is chairman, make their voices heard.

The agitators meet with a far different reception from what they had received in 1881. Mr. Chamberlain appears to have surrendered at discretion. His first step was to appoint a Royal Commission to enquire whether the West Indian sugar industry is in fact in danger of extinction, a curious reference, to which the answer could only be in the nature of a prophecy. The Commission, however, did not report in favour of establishing "countervailing" duties or taking the other serious steps which are contemplated in the Convention. It made a great number of small recommendations with regard to more economical management and improved methods of cultivation, all of which have been carried out at considerable cost to this country. The leaders of the agitation, however, were not by any means satisfied. When the Royal Commission was sucked dry they simply pressed on their campaign for countervail-

ing duties and the exclusion of competing sugar. A Conference was summoned at Lord Salisbury's suggestion to meet at Brussels in 1898, and Sir Neville Lubbock and Mr. Martineau were appointed "experts" to assist the delegates from this country. Owing to difficulties raised by France this Conference adjourned without reaching any conclusion, to meet again in December, 1901, with the same "expert" assistance, and the present Convention was produced as a result of their labours. In the Consular Reports* on the West Indian Islands for the year ending the 31st March, 1901, we read as to British Guiana that the quantity of sugar exported showed an increase of 10,000 tons, that "market conditions were not unfavourable, and that the increase of production had been fairly steady for five years." In Trinidad "the revenue is making great progress, and shows a surplus of £109,868," but this "gives no measure of the resources of the Colony, where exports, apart from sugar, are rapidly increasing." In Barbados the trade is on the whole satisfactory, exceeding 1900, and there is a great increase in the export of molasses and considerable increase in sugar. The most glowing reports, however, come from Jamaica, where Mr. Sydney Olivier, Secretary to the late Royal Commission and Acting Governor, points to an increase of 14 per cent. in revenue and a growth of all the chief exports by "leaps and bounds." Perhaps greater reliance may be attached to more general facts affecting all the Islands. Great Britain is no longer the chief or the only market to which sugar is sent, four-fifths of the output being taken by the United States and Canada. Population is steadily increasing, and, finally, the import of indentured labour had doubled during the last five years.† Though all this cannot be taken to prove that no difficulties are yet in store for these Colonies, it certainly is rather a surprising conclusion to twenty-one years in which utter ruin was to be reached. Thus, it is at the moment when the West Indian case of the agitators is fading away that the Government has taken the violent step of committing the country to the engagements of the Convention, the terms of which we must now examine.

Nine of the great European States have signed the Convention, but of these five,—Germany, France, Holland, Belgium and Austria, are in a very different category to the others. These are the producers and exporters, who have hitherto competed with one another for the privilege of supplying Great Britain, one-half of whose total consumption comes from Germany, and about one-fourth from France, the other fourth being divided between other European countries and the Colonies, the West Indies and British Guiana sending little more than one-fortieth. Three other Powers—Spain, Italy, and Sweden—do not export sugar, and, although they have signed, there are special provi-

* Colonial Reports—Annual.—Nos. 349, 338, 368 and 351.

† Answer given on behalf of the Colonial Secretary in the House of Commons on November 20th, 1902 :—"The number of indentured immigrants imported into the British West Indies and British Guiana in each of the last five years has been as follows :—1897, 3,045; 1898, 3,648; 1899, 6,724; 1900, 7,136; 1901, 7,390."

sions exempting them from the onerous stipulations of the Treaty. The ninth signatory is Great Britain—the great emporium in which all the surplus stock finds its market. Her interests, therefore, are diametrically opposed to all the rest. We can see that the other States went to the Convention to improve their market and to get a higher price for their goods, but why Great Britain should go, having no goods to sell, when the only effect would be that she would have to pay a higher price for what she required, it is very difficult to conceive.

In the first Article the high contracting parties undertake to suppress all direct and indirect bounties by which the production or export of sugar might benefit, and not to establish such during the whole duration of the Convention, this provision including all articles in which sugar forms a notable proportion. As the discussion proceeds it becomes clear that this main provision is likely to cause us considerable trouble. The Prime Minister of Holland has stated that under it we will be obliged to impose countervailing duties against any sugar produced in our Colonies where any direct or indirect bounties exist. Austria-Hungary has expressed the same view. Direct bounties on the production of sugar are paid by the Governments of Queensland and Ontario, and the subsidies previously referred to, which we give to our West Indian Colonies, will no doubt equally come within the scope of the Convention. The position in which we are placed by this main provision becomes still more ridiculous when we examine Article III., under which we agree to give each of the other signatories the benefit of a very considerable "sur-tax." This "sur-tax" gives us at once an insight into the real objects of the sugar-producing Powers. It is the provision by which each signatory may charge an import duty of 2s. 6d. per cwt. more than the excise duty which the manufacturers of sugar within the countries have to pay. This is quite hostile in principle to Article I., and it substitutes a new form of bounty for the old form which is done away with. But it is said that this bounty is so small that it does not destroy the declared principle of the Convention.

It is admitted that a difference between import and excise duty might be made sufficiently large to destroy the principle. The question, then, is: How large must it be to do so? The answer is perfectly simple. If the difference is large enough to secure for the sugar producers the whole of their home market, thus enabling them to charge as high prices as they please there, they can recoup themselves sufficiently in this way to sell the balance of their sugar as much under cost price as may be necessary abroad, in order that the whole of their production may be disposed of. Then the question arises whether the sur-tax is sufficient to completely protect their home trade. If it is, 2s. 6d. per cwt. is as good as 20s. There can be no doubt, from a careful perusal of the whole instrument, that that protection is fully secured. Clause XI. enables the difference between

import and excise duty to be increased. Finally, we have the broad statement that the object of the Convention is "the efficacious protection of the market of each producing country." After this we can make no complaint if behind the Convention to which we are a party there is a secret agreement between the producing Powers from which we are excluded. It is exceedingly likely that this is the case and that this agreement simply provides that France shall not export to Germany, or Belgium, or Holland, or *vice versa*, in short, that each Power shall be protected in their home markets, which is the one object each has in view. This enables the *cartel* system to be set up. Under it the leading producers unite themselves into a Trust to control every part of the industry—production, distribution and prices, and a great fund is created which may be unscrupulously used to destroy competitors and obtain a monopoly of markets. The merits of the plan to the foreign Governments is apparent. The sugar producers will no longer be a tax on the over-burdened exchequers of their respective States, but a free field will be given them to fleece every person in their own country who requires sugar, to a sufficient amount to enable them still to sell the surplus to Great Britain.

What a ludicrous position we are placed in when we thus realise what the Powers have done. They have made a bargain with us that we shall give them preferential duties against our own Colonies and all the foreign countries who are outside; we, on the other hand, binding ourselves not to give any preferential treatment to the sugar producers within our own Empire. The effect will be that our market will be at the mercy of these foreigners. They will always have the amount of the sur-tax directly, and the further amount which their secret mutual *cartel* arrangements may enable them to exact from their own consumers with which to beat our West Indian and other sugar producers. The effect of this sur-tax is clear from the following incidents which arose during the Conference. The sugar refiners addressed a protest* to Lord Lansdowne, dated February 20th, 1902, and signed by Mr. Edwin Tate, Chairman of the British Sugar Refiners' Association, against the proposed sur-tax, which they saw would enable the *cartel* system to be fully established. It has prevented the Indian Government from being a party to the Convention. At a certain stage of the negotiations Austria-Hungary firmly objected to come in on the ground that the amount of the sur-tax fixed would be inadequate to protect her market. Suddenly her objections disappeared and she signed the Treaty like the others. Surely no one can doubt that this compliance arose from the fact that she became satisfied that though the amount of sur-tax permitted was small, it would be completely efficacious.

Article IV. deals with the "countervailing" duties. Under it the

* No. 54 in "Correspondence Relating to the Brussels Sugar Bounty Convention," (Cd. 1013.)"

parties agree to impose a special duty on the importation into their respective territories "of sugar from countries that grant bounties either on production or export." It was this provision that the law officers of the Crown in 1881 stated would be contrary to the "most favoured nation" clauses which regulate our commerce with foreign countries. Treaties containing this clause exist with twenty-one States who are not parties to the Brussels Convention, among them being the United States, Russia, the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Japan and many others from whom we may obtain sugar in more or less important quantities. Already Russia has expostulated against our acceptance of the principle of the clause. Under Article VIII. the parties agree to establish a permanent Commission to "watch the execution of the provisions." Only that the others are so remarkable, this Article, which is the longest and most specific in the Convention, would strike us as the most extraordinary of all. To this "police court" each high contracting party is to send one representative. The Court is then to decide where among non-signatory States direct or indirect bounties exist, and the amount of such, and to declare what duty Great Britain must impose to "countervail" any sugar that may arrive from those States. Of course to the other signatories this clause also presents no difficulty as they import no sugar. But for us it seems to lay up a store of trouble—not to enlarge on the indignity of our new protective Customs duties being fixed for us by foreign States. Article VIII. imposes restrictions on the transit of bounty-fed sugar, and it also will hit Great Britain more than any other because she is the great carrying power. Under Article X. the Convention lasts for five years, but it may be denounced by any of the signatory Powers at any time.

It is extremely difficult to estimate the extent of the burden which this Treaty may throw on the United Kingdom. Mr. Chamberlain said in July that it might involve a rise of £5 per ton in the price of sugar. Sir Henry Norman, who was Chairman of the Royal Commission to the West Indies, also suggested that it would mean a rise of a halfpenny a pound in the price of sugar. If so, this would be equal to an extra tax amounting to seven millions per annum. If bounties were necessary to stimulate production, their withdrawal may cause a shortness of supply which will react on demand and produce a rise in price far beyond the amount of the payment which is withdrawn. Such a burden would fall with peculiar weight at present when sugar has already been made to contribute a tax of a halfpenny a pound to the cost of the late war. Indeed, the moment seems particularly inopportune for us to court any such imposition. There is a new corn tax and an income tax of 1s. 3d. in the £, and a new duty on coal—all trying the patience of the British taxpayer. But apart from the direct burden on consumers, these sugar taxes aim a great blow at the immense trades in which sugar is used as a raw

material. The sugar tariff involves 65 new Customs ratings, ranging from blacking, through candies, confectionery and preserved fruits to cattle foods. It was in the period of freedom from such burdens that the great expansion in these trades took place, and there is scarcely room to doubt that the uncertainty and inconvenience created by these numerous fresh impositions will be a serious restriction on commerce. Already strong competitors on the Continent are assailing every one of these new industries. Switzerland, who is not a party to the Convention, is now one of our most formidable rivals; the consumption of sugar in that country has increased from 23 pounds per head of the population in 1884 to 66 pounds in 1901. She will now step into the place we have occupied, and one can hardly conceive that her statesmen will impose any barriers to the free importation of raw material which her people have learned to turn to such good account. Thus, if the Convention is ratified a large transfer may take place of our flourishing industries to that country.

Such a movement would be a high price to pay for the slight and ineffective protection which the Convention will extend to sugar refining. This industry never afforded any considerable employment, as the process is of a simple character and a comparatively small number of men can handle a great quantity of sugar. Refining is really only the completion of a process, the earlier stages of which must take place wherever sugar is produced. It has been found much more economical to complete the work in the factories which have been set up in the beet-producing districts. This is the cause of the great increase in the import of refined sugars; the movement is in accordance with other changes which have tended to cheapen staple articles of consumption, and it is quite certain that nothing the folly of statesmen may devise will check so beneficent a tendency. For the last forty years the number of refineries in the United Kingdom has steadily diminished. In 1861 there were 64, in 1881 32, in 1896 16, and to-day there are only 12. On the other hand, the success of the great refinery conducted by Messrs. Tate and Sons in London and Liverpool proves that a well-conducted business, where intelligent methods are pursued, may even yet hold its own against any competition, and the dozen refineries still existing handle quite as much sugar as did the greater number thirty or forty years ago.

The most disingenuous argument used in support of the Convention is that as giving bounties is contrary to our Free Trade principles we should be willing to take any step in order to suppress them. A very few words should dispose of this contention. We can only control our own practice, and it is sufficient for us to refrain from doing wrong without unduly concerning ourselves with our neighbours' duties. The nations who have adopted the bounty system are absolutely protectionist. Every part of their tariff is aimed against us; they shut out our goods and do everything they can to check British

trade within their borders. In the whole of their protectionist policy there is only one point that has helped us, and that is the giving of these bounties: unconscious assistance no doubt, given not for love of us, but because they saw advantage to themselves in developing the production of sugar. If our policy is to be aimed at correcting their actions, surely we should endeavour to induce them to abandon their whole protective policy or at least some part of it which injures us. But no suggestion of this kind is made. Our Government pick out the one point which was helpful to this country, and press them to alter that without obtaining the amelioration of any of their practices which injure us. Surely this is carrying philanthropy too far.

Beneath the thin veneer of this contention there is no difficulty in discovering that the Treaty has been promoted in the undisguised interests of Protection. After half a century of immunity the country has forgotten the methods and arguments by which that ruinous policy was sustained for so many generations, but all of them may be seen here in vigorous life. The alleged evil is the low price of sugar which, it is contended, will ruin the producers. But is it not the aim of Free Trade to benefit the community by lowering prices so that commodities hitherto enjoyed by the rich alone may be placed within reach of the poor? During the last thirty years no greater fall has taken place in sugar than in wheat, wool, tea, coffee, and other great staples. There is not the slightest proof that low prices injure trade; on the contrary, they greatly increase its volume, and with newer and more economical methods of production and distribution the profits are far greater than before. There is nothing extraordinary in the difficulties our West Indian Islands have had to face. Cuba, under similar conditions, is to-day easily and successfully producing sugar at little more than half the price which our Protectionists allege to be necessary. It is only businesses sustained by inflated capital, in which new facilities are not made use of, that need Protection.

This Convention may be said to be the work of two men—Sir Neville Lubbock and Mr. Martineau, both of whom deserve the highest praise for the perseverance and ability with which they have prosecuted their campaign for over a quarter of a century. Their methods never vary. In 1880 there was a cry of ruin from the West Indies, there were a Sugar Industries Committee and a Workmen's Committee in Great Britain. In 1896 there are the same appeals from the Colonies, only this time it is more ably organised. In every island a meeting is held and every Governor sends his petition. The inevitable Royal Commission follows, and these proceedings are supported at home by the Anti-Bounty League, the Sugar Refiners' Association, and the West Indian Committees of London, Liverpool and Glasgow, all this fine show representing perhaps a dozen active men under their two able leaders. It is no wonder that a Government not guided by any

clear principle in its commercial policy should yield to such pressure, but we may entertain some amazement that the two gentlemen who had conducted the agitation should be sent to the Conference with the other delegates. If it were necessary for any trade "experts" to go, why were not the great new industries—whose very existence is threatened—also allowed to be represented? The correspondence shows that at Brussels, while Sir Neville Lubbock and Mr. Martineau were representing the Government, if at any time action were wanted from the West Indies, the Anti-Bounty League or the Sugar-Refiners' Association, to strengthen the hands of the Convention, it was immediately forthcoming. These two excellent business men always appear to have on hand a good stock of resolutions, expostulations and petitions, so that the necessities of all governing persons might be as readily supplied as their other customers. Thus the Brussels Sugar Conference was brought together and led through every difficulty to the result which the Convention embodies. By the same means the hurried vote was taken in Parliament, and the nation, deprived alike of proper knowledge and of its legitimate opportunity for discussion and opposition, can only lament that the necessities of a community of forty-one millions at home and a vast empire abroad, should be sacrificed to benefit what are really only petty, private interests.

THOS. LOUGH.

ROBERT BROWNING.

Browning. By Stopford A. Brooke.
Isbister. 1902.

Robert Browning as a religious teacher. By A. C. Pigou.
C. J. Clay & Sons. 1901.

BROWNING has a very definite system of religion, which has been expounded and criticised by Mr. Pigou, with a patience, and acumen that leave nothing to be desired. He has also a very definite theory of the meaning of human life, which has been expounded luminously and sympathetically by Mr. Stopford Brooke. Whether he has any definite theory of conduct may well be doubted, for a theory of conduct could hardly be dissociated from a theory of society, and of that there is scarcely a trace to be found in Browning; but he evidently recognises principles of personal conduct, not differing greatly from those of other high-minded men amongst his contemporaries. His system of religion, however, his theory of life, and his principles of conduct, are far from allowing full scope to his vast energy of sympathy and exuberance of thought. He can sympathise, sometimes subtly, sometimes passionately, with systems of religion as remote from his own as those of Caliban and Johannes Agricola. He can adopt with complete *abandon* a theory of life as unlike his own as that of Count Guido Franceschini or the soliloquising brother in the "Spanish Cloister." And as for conduct, what type or what eccentricity is there with which he cannot so sympathise as to make it realisable even to the least imaginative of his readers? Again, though it was the very pivot of his systematic thinking, as indeed it must be of all systematic thinking, to relate the different experiences and motives of life to each other, and though it was one of his chief delights to build up a complicated character and realise the reactions and developments which would arise when he had placed it in a complicated scheme of relations, yet he loved just as well to identify himself with some simple isolated passion in which all relativity save that of absorption and assimilation is lost. It is only one step further in psychological simplification to present not a passion at all, but an

isolated impression, and Browning is full of such impressions, whether of sense or soul.

Such, then, is Browning's range; vivid delight in single impressions, interest in isolated passions, fascinated and fascinating studies of every variety of character and conception of life, in reaction with all manner of varied conditions. And behind all this there is a perfectly definite and indeed militant and exclusive religious philosophy and theory of life. How is the net to hold the multitude of fishes without bursting? How can Browning's scheme hold Browning's material? There is no answer to this question. Browning's material is indefinitely wider than his scheme. To utter himself in approximate fullness he must be allowed to escape from the limitations and responsibilities of his own system as often and as completely as he chooses; but he must also be allowed to introduce and emphasise his own system whenever and wherever it suits him. It is true indeed that Browning has his psychological limitations. There are moods which are unknown to him; and, as we shall try to show presently, there are conceptions of life which lie beyond his range; but for all that his range is vaster than that of any contemporary writer, whereas his religious philosophy and his theory of life are as definite and exclusive as those of another. Once more, then, how does he get room for all his sympathies without violating his systematic scheme?

He finds the escape he needs by dramatic self-identification with all manner of "Men and Women." This enables him to be as irresponsible as he chooses. He may fling himself without reserve into the position of Caliban, and may freely indulge under some assumed character in speculations which he would have to check, qualify and balance at every turn, if he were treating them with reference to his general scheme. But what he seeks in these dramatic impersonations is freedom, not confinement; he wishes to enlarge, not to contract the range of speculation and passion; and therefore while he welcomes the wider scope which they give him, he never feels bound by the limitations which they would naturally impose upon him. That is to say, he never shrinks from psychological anachronisms, great or small. Psychological *consistency* is another matter, and here Browning's readers, if they are in any degree worthy of him, will seldom find cause of complaint; for the thoughts and emotions which he unites in a single picture are seldom incoherent in themselves, though they are frequently incompatible from the point of view of psychological history. Even here, however, there is an exception; for Browning cannot unreservedly accept even the limitation of intrinsic consistency. He tacitly reserves to himself the right to peep through the mask, or to throw it off completely, whenever he wishes to do so.

Thus Browning may expiate to his heart's content, without being responsible for anything which he does not choose to mark with

his sign manual. He can keep his own nets unbroken in spite of the multitude of great fishes, because he borrows other men's nets whenever he likes and alternates the use of them and of his own.

And here his wide learning stands him in good stead. He has a curious and varied acquaintance with many bye-ways of literature and history, and he also knows how the main roads run even if he is not familiar with all of them; and this range of literature gives him an immense command of what we may call, without disrespect, theatrical properties. He can find, or can create, a suitable character and a suitable scene for any impersonation that the most exuberant imagination can suggest. But there can be no greater, as there is no more frequent, mistake than to suppose that in these impersonations Browning is the conscientious scholar and antiquarian, true, if not to the facts, at any rate to the spirit of the time and place he has chosen. It is not so. Any scruples in such matters would defeat the poet's whole purpose. We must not expect him to accept as a limitation what he values merely as an opportunity. Apart from vivid and picturesque presentations of external aspects of nature and life, this trick of transporting the reader to remote or unfamiliar time, and place serves a twofold purpose; it gives credibility to the unfamiliar, and it gives piquancy to the familiar, in psychological experience. The assumed time, place, and character, give the reader the support which he requires in order not to be too much startled or perplexed by the apparent strangeness of the thing depicted. Passions and deeds which however intrinsically human would shock our sense of possibility, were they framed in contemporary or familiar surroundings, are accepted without revolt and thus understood as within the range of human experience and character, when they are presented to us amid scenery and manners that produce a vivid impression of changed time and place, but an equally vivid impression of reality.

When Browning neglects these resources, we see by the contrast the full advantage which he usually derives from them. The story of "Red Cotton Night-Cap Country" is not more revolting than others which Browning tells; but the effect of giving it as it actually occurred in our own day, and picturing the poet himself telling it, face to face, in a quiet retreat in Normandy, "to Miss Thackeray," is to give us such a shock, that our minds are scarcely at leisure to follow the tender sympathy, or to admire the vast psychological resources of the poet. And the vulgarities of "The Inn Album" are unrelieved by any accompanying sense of expanding sympathy or intelligence. That such a man should have seduced such a woman and imposed himself as a hero on the "Boy" is wholly incredible, when we are asked to accept the story as a piece of contemporary English life. To sum up, then: Browning uses his wide command of historical material partly to give him opportunities for impressionist sketches, but chiefly as

giving scope to himself and support to his reader in psychological and dramatic studies.

Hence it follows that historical fact is valued by Browning not as fact, but merely as providing situations, suggestions or problems, and hence Browning's splendid audacity in neglecting, transforming or inventing facts as suits him, and giving to the actual and the fictitious alike those distinguishing touches of apparently irrelevant detail by which he and Defoe, alone of English writers, can authenticate fiction as fact.

Now if we may take Mr. Birrell's edition and Mr. Brooke's criticism of Browning as representative books, we must suppose that this indifference to fact, as such, though profoundly characteristic of Browning's work in general, is not at all realised either in its extent or in its implications by his professed students. They cannot of course fail to encounter it, for it is all pervading; but they only recognise it now and then and are perplexed by it. It is fairly well known, for instance, that "How they brought the good news from Ghent to Aix" refers to no particular event; and Mr. Birrell informs us that "there is no reason to believe" that "Raphael made a century of sonnets," and further, that "Protus" is "without warrant of history"; but the expounders of Browning seem to have small idea of the far-going character of his independence of the "warrant of history," or the importance of its bearing upon the study of his work. This must be our excuse for illustrating and elaborating this point with what would otherwise be quite undue emphasis.

To begin with, then, Browning cares less than other poets even for facts of nature. The close observation for which Wordsworth or Tennyson must be praised, is far indeed from Browning. An observer he is, and a close one too, but of impressions and experiences, not of external facts. The phrase that Wordsworth used of himself when he spoke of

The Mind of Man

My haunt and the main region of my song

might have been adopted with much more obvious if not with profounder truth by Browning. "Little else [than 'incidents in the "development of a soul'] is worth study," he declares in the dedication of "Sordello." External facts, then, are only significant to him for the mental impression they produce. In themselves they are matters of such complete indifference that, as Sydney Smith said of Jeffrey, he can treat even the Equator disrespectfully, and the points of the compass are all as one to him! In Florence, to the bewilderment of the conscientious student of "The Ring and the Book" he looks North over San Felice to the Porta Romana, and on to Arezzo; whereas the line from San Felice to the Porta Romana runs nearly due West, and the road to Arezzo runs East and then South. But

what do points of the compass matter? The passage in which this astounding piece of topography occurs is of the utmost imaginative splendour. The poet looked towards the Apennine and Arezzo till the whole drama lived before him. "The life in me abolished the death of things," and who need care whether it abolished the distinction between North and South-East also, so long as the concrete touch,

north away
Out of the Roman gate to the Roman road
By the river, till I felt the Apennine,

makes us realise, with the poet, that the road which Caponsacchi and Pompilia and Guido traversed was an actual road that we may tread, from Arezzo to Rome? This combined definiteness of statement and neglect of fact is habitual with Browning. In "The Inn Album," soon after the two men have missed the 10 o'clock morning train, the two women enter the inn parlour; and one of them presently watches the shadow of the elm creeping along like the finger of a great clock,

till it ticks at fern
Five inches further to the south.

As the scene is laid in the northern hemisphere the movement of the shadow is by this time nearly due East, with perhaps a little North in it; but if South-East is North in Italy, why should not North-East be South in England? That "five inches further to the south" makes the impression concrete, and Browning asks no more—nor does his reader. Browning's geography and seamanship are equally concrete and equally reckless. Balaustion and her friends sail from Kaunos on the Carian mainland for Athens, some 300 miles West by North; but we next find them off Cape Malea, with Athens 100 miles North by East of them. From this erratic course they are driven by a wind, and after three "blue days" they sight land. The passengers wonder whether it is Crete (about 60 miles South by East of Malea) or Cos (200 miles East)—which is natural enough, for that is the kind of speculation actually indulged in by passengers—but the captain decides in favour of Crete. It turns out that they have really sailed some 400 miles due West, and are making Syracuse! Surely with a clear sky the captain (whom we may congratulate, in passing, on having a crew who regard seven and a half miles, fifty *stadia*, as the quite trifling tail end of a "spurt") would know the difference between South and West, and in any weather at all he would know the difference between making 40 and 400 miles. Again, before we have read many lines of the transcript of the *Alkestis*, we come upon quite easy lines of Euripides, obviously mistranslated. Now it would have been perfectly easy to Browning to make his geography unimpeachable by looking in an Atlas, or his

translation correct by looking in a dictionary; but he did not care to do either, or even to think. He has a vivid picture of the adventure and he conveys it to his reader. One name is as good as another for his purpose. And it was not worth his while to trouble about the meaning of the individual lines of the *Alkestis* when he could keenly enjoy reading it with his "feet on the fender," and could weave it into an original and delightful poem that bears the mark of his unique genius in its very texture. We may approve or disapprove of this way of doing things. But it is Browning's way, and we had better understand it. Yet again, we are accustomed to value our poets on the accuracy of their observations of "nature" in the narrower sense. When Tennyson speaks of a girl's hair as "blacker than ash buds in the front of March" we instantly recognise the fact that ash buds are black, or if we have not noted it before, we do not fail to note it afterwards. So again, when he says—

Or underneath the barren bush
Flits the sea-blue bird of March,

though he may himself have forgotten what the bird was, and may accept the kingfisher, until Canon Rawnsley points out to him that the kingfisher darts and does not flit, yet all the time he knows, and we know, that he had at the time some definite bird in his mind that answered to the description. But if we turn to Browning's ornithology it is a different case indeed. Browning's cormorants and ospreys tear birds to pieces with beak and claw, whereas other people's cormorants and ospreys are formidable to nothing but fishes. His gannets (stray ones) build "Amid the birch trees by the lake," whereas other gannets only build on the rocks by the sea shore. His wild dove builds "A veriest trap of twigs" by way of nest, whilst other wild doves only lay a few sticks across each other in a light platform to support their eggs. His owls sweep past with a "whirr," other owls fly as silently as bats. But there is no single one of all the passages in which these strange fowl appear that does not give us a distinctly recognisable picture or vivid and distinctive impression. Only we must be sufficiently ignorant or sufficiently tolerant not to note or not to mind the specific name that Browning (always concrete) chooses to give to the bird of his illustration.

We dwell upon these matters not for their own importance, but because they show the consistent habit of Browning's mind, which reveals itself equally in his contempt for historical facts. *Sordello*, for instance, is one huge anachronism. It is not that Browning knew nothing about the 13th century. He knew much about it; and he used his knowledge to give us a series of pictures of unrivalled brilliance and truth. He must be a profound student indeed of 13th century Italy who does not gain fresh insight into the passions of the period from reading the terrible scene in the market-place of Verona,

where the bloodthirsty partisans let the "silent luxury" (of anticipated revenge)—

trickle slow

About the hollows where a heart should be,

or to whom the external conditions of the time are not made more vivid by the ghastly account of Cino kicking his spurred heels by the tank side till they catch in his dead mother's grey buried hairs. But all this pertains to the mere external presentment of the theme. Between Browning's Sordello and the historical Sordello, or any poet who could possibly have lived in the 13th century, there is not the very remotest connection. Mr. Brooke's attempt to present "Sordello" as an elaborate study of the reaction between the conditions of the 13th century and an exceptional, but possible, 13th century soul is a specimen of the worst aberrations into which Browning betrays the student who takes his dramatic psychology as serious antiquarian scholarship. This is how Mr. Brooke, under the exigencies of his case, describes the 13th century: "A period in which the religious basis of life, laid so enthusiastically in the 11th century, and gradually weakening through the 12th, had all but faded away for the mediæval noble and burgher, and even for the clergy." This of the century which found Francis of Assisi on the threshold of his career, and left Dante on the threshold of his; which embraced the whole life of Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, and St. Louis, and witnessed the laying of the first and last stones of the cathedrals as originally designed of Amiens and Rheims! But granting Mr. Brooke's picture of the 13th century to be true, the attempt to make Sordello a possible 13th century character entirely breaks down. Mr. Brooke himself is obliged to treat Sordello not as a typical, but an exceptional 13th century poet; but he does not face the fact that he is not a 13th century poet at all, but a 19th century poet, placed (in a very detached fashion) on a 13th century stage. "The development of Sordello in contact with that time," as Mr. Brooke puts it, cannot be traced through the poem in any way; for no contact, affecting mental development, can exist between a 19th century soul and a 13th century background. But what we have spoken of as the audacity with which Browning gives the impress of fact to his fictions finds ample illustration in the poem,—

You pother with your glossaries to get
A notion of the Troubadour's intent
In rondel, tenzon, virlai or sirvent,

says Browning, but yet "Never quite reach what struck the people so" in Sordello's poetry. This certainly gives the impression (unless we happen to know that the "rondel" and "virlai" are French, not Portuguese terms of art) that Browning has really studied the works

of the Troubadour Sordello, many of which are extant, and were, as a matter of fact, accessible to Browning had he chosen to study them. And when we further meet with the reference to a specific composition of Sordello's on Charlemagne—

his poem dreamed divine
In every point except one silly line
About the restiff daughters,

we naturally suppose that we are dealing with an actual work of Sordello's, extant or known to tradition. But there was, and there could have been, no such poem at all. Poems on Charlemagne were no more in Sordello's line than were poems on Apollo, or dreaming in the forests,—which things also Browning's Sordello indulges in.

In like manner Caponsacchi gives us interesting details of his family. They came down from Fiesole to the Mercato Vecchio in Florence—

This was years ago
Four hundred, full,—no it wants fourteen just.

Now, as the trial took place in 1698, we arrive at 1284 as the exact date. This date, with its "wants fourteen just," is a pure invention. The Caponsacchi did come down from Fiesole, but we know that they were already settled in the Mercato Vecchio in the time of Dante's great great grandfather, who died in 1147. Caponsacchi goes on to say:—

Our arms are those of Fiesole itself,
The shield quartered with white and red.

Now according to Villani the ancient arms of Fiesole were a white field bearing an azure moon, but they were subsequently uncharged, and dimidiated (not quartered) with the red field of Florence; and the new shield being common to Fiesole and Florence, Fiesole had no distinctive arms of her own thenceforth.

Facts, then, whether of nature or of history are as nothing to Browning. Impressions are everything. He himself over and over again gives us the explanation of this characteristic of his work. He tells us, for instance, in the introduction to "Sordello" and again in the introduction to "The Ring and the Book," that human life and human experience are the things that he really cares for, and that when he has made any situation or any event yield an intelligible human experience he has got what he regards as the essential truth out of it. Human experience is the pure gold of history. It deposits itself in certain external records, which so far as they are external are the mere alloy of truth. The poet may add or substitute any better or more workable alloy that he finds to hand; then he can hammer and file the thing into shape, and can work it into beauty. Then a whiff

of acid destroys the alloy and leaves the pure gold. In other words, the human experience is what makes all facts significant. The facts themselves are dead. If the poet has revived them, re-translated them into realisable human experiences, he has recovered their essential truth. Who shall guarantee that the experience so recovered is the precise identical experience which originally lay behind the facts? The poet's divination may give him more or less assurance on the subject; but it is not of supreme import. In the case of "The Ring and the Book," he may have very full faith that he has got close to it. In the case of "Sordello" he must know perfectly well that he has not made the most distant approach to it. But in either case he has translated the mere record or suggestion of an experience into something realisable as essentially true. Through the medium of insignificant fact, discovered or invented, he has recovered essential truth. Surroundings of time and place, antiquarian research, and so forth, are useful just so far as they are subservient to the recovery of this essential truth of human experience and no further. Their aid is to be accepted, their limitations are to be neglected and scorned. The inimitable Hyacinthus de Archangelis lets us into the whole secret when he notes in the draft of his oration that at a certain point he must find a fact to adorn his plea, or, if he cannot find,—invent one.

"I see my grandsire, he who fought so well
 "At" here find out and put in time and place,
 Or else invent the fight his grandsire fought.

So, too, those occasional inroads upon psychological consistency, even in the broader sense, to which we have already alluded, find their explanation in the sequel to the passage quoted above from "Sordello." Sordello's impertinent line about Charlemagne's daughters was due to the fact that Sordello was always Sordello; that he himself always had in his mind a greater poem and a larger scheme than the one on which he was at the moment engaged. Here we come across Browning's fundamental belief (admirably expounded by Mr. Brooke) that perfection is just imperfection, and that imperfection is the guarantee of perfection. Sordello could not keep consistently on the plane of his own poem, because he himself was greater than the poem, greater than any poem, greater than anything realisable. The man who can completely express himself in any work of art, without the necessity of occasionally kicking free and spoiling the perfection of his poem, proclaims himself a thing of earth and not a thing of heaven. Browning makes no such humiliating proclamation. On the contrary he shows us again and again that he cannot and will not be confined within the boundaries of his theme, if it takes his fancy to transgress them.

What, then, may we conceive to be Browning's essential method in these dramatic realisations? When he is presenting an isolated passion,

the case is of course simple enough. The background may be elaborate as in "In a Gondola," or simple as in "Love in the Ruins"; but in either case the surroundings and the actors alike are the mere supporters of a passion universally realisable. There are no "characters" in either of these poems, and no complexity of condition or circumstance in the former. If the passion is less universal and less sure of enlisting sympathy than in these poems, the support of an elaborated character may be needed. Thus in the "Spanish Cloister" we have presented to us, in a few master strokes, two characters conceived with the utmost vividness and presented in such a convincing form that anyone who has it in him to hate will realise the hatred there depicted, even if he loves its object. In this case the passion doubtless suggested the situation; but in other cases the situation suggested some complex problem of psychology, and the poet, becoming fascinated by it, contemplated it—not from the point of view of the modern psychological vivisectioners, of whom perhaps Ibsen is the chief,—but from the point of view of a man who takes for granted that every human action, and every human passion, being human, is intelligible to him, being a man; and intelligible not as the subject of scientific study, but as an actual or possible experience of his own. At whatever altitude he may naturally stand above the "alien ground" of the action or emotion in question, he lets his mind dwell upon it till at last it becomes definitely and distinctly believable, not by external evidence but by internal comprehension and sympathy; yet it is a sympathy that never implies a departure by one hair's breadth from the ground that he has taken as his own, and as the result our wills are braced at the same time that our understanding is enlarged. The rage of Count Guido against the meek creature out of whom he cannot strike a spark of resistance or resentment, while not ceasing to be monstrous, becomes entirely believable. Caliban's outlook upon an arbitrary and cruel universe with a ruler to be feared, flattered, openly propitiated, secretly reviled, and always envied, introduces us to no remote study of primitive man, but to a very real and present way of looking at life; and "Porphyria's Lover" and "Johannes Agricola in Meditation" only need the restoration of their original title "From Madhouse Cells" to become realisable by the sane. This last case is a crucial instance of the support Browning gives us by his setting. The extension of our sympathy is natural and easy when so aided, but well nigh impossible otherwise. Yet it is the sanity, not the insanity of the mad lover and the mad devotee, that we sympathise with in the end.

Hence the strangely humanising effect of the study of Browning. All manner of eccentricity and horror puts off its essentially monstrous nature, though it remains hurtful; and every height and depth of tenderness, devotion and innocence, is brought within the range of humanity. From Pompilia to Sludge there is no perfection or

purity, which we can have leave to renounce because it is beyond the **possibility** of our frail nature, and there is no depth to which we can **assure** ourselves we are inherently incapable of descending. The whole gamut is realised as ideally within our compass. But this enlarging of ethical sympathies is not without its dangers. There is often moral exaltation but there is seldom ethical enthusiasm, or even a sound moral indignation in Browning's work. Caponsacchi's denunciation of Guido has more of virulence than of proper indignation in it; and it is convincing only dramatically. Browning sympathises too much with vice and evil passion of every kind, is too thoroughly convinced that it is human, is, in a word, too much interested in it, to experience any moral repulsion. Pity and tenderness he has in abundance, and precious indeed are these; but they are not everything, and sometimes this absence of repugnance becomes painful to us. Connected with the want of ethical earnestness is the absence of anything approaching to social enthusiasm. There is no resentment of social wrong, no vision of the kingdom of heaven on earth, to be found in Browning's poetry. The feeble traces of it in "Paracelsus" and "Sordello" present it only in the form of a will of the wisp, and indeed as conceived by these heroes it is nothing better. And in the later work it seems to disappear altogether. Browning is an individualist if he is anything. The rights and wrongs, the habits, the fears and the fates of classes do not interest him.

Now this is a very startling fact, because most people, say between the years of 1880 and 1895, if asked what poet best represented the life of the 19th century in all its aspects, would have answered, "Browning," and most of those same people, if asked what was the most characteristic trend, the most proper passion of their time, would have answered, "The sense of social wrong and social hope." Thus the characteristic poet of the time is free from the characteristic impulses of the time, the man who we say most truly reflects the age entirely fails to reflect it in its most characteristic aspect. Here is a paradox indeed. What does it signify?

Mr. Brooke gives us a very careful, acute, and interesting study of the relation of Browning both to his age and his country, but in neither case does he satisfy us. He asks how Browning came to be admired at the end of his life, though the work that won him applause was not what he was then producing but what he had produced 30 or 50 years before. And he answers that Browning was, in the strict sense of that much-abused phrase, "in advance of his age." That is to say, the point of view which he occupied was not necessarily superior to the age in which he lived, but was out of accord with it, whereas it was in accord with the generation that succeeded it—whether for better or worse. He finds in Browning's impressionism and in his love of psychological study features that characterise the last decades of the nineteenth century, and which Browning anticipated by fifty years. When the

world began to take interest in psychology and impressionist art it discovered to its amusement that it had neglected an unrivalled psychologist and impressionist for more than a full generation; and it hastened to make amends. That there is truth in this view no one will deny, and to have placed it in a clear and striking light is one of the chief merits of Mr. Brooke's study; but so far from being the whole truth it appears to us to be only a very small part of it.

In his most essential characteristics Browning surely belongs to the middle rather than the close of the 19th century. His dominant thought is that of progress, and he persistently—nay, we might borrow a phrase from Mr. Brooke and say "fiercely"—requires us to throw the centre of gravity of our thought and purpose beyond the grave; and for all his exuberant delight in every phase of earthly life, material and spiritual, he never forgets to warn us that all is worthless unless we can project it into endless continuity of progress. To find perfection would be to find stagnation and death. Now all this is far more characteristic of the fifties and sixties than of the eighties and nineties. The spiritual life of the latter period has received a more mystic tinge, and though Mr. Brooke constantly speaks of Browning's sense of the spirit world as "mystic," this is really a misnomer. The true mystic may, and probably does, believe in personal immortality as firmly as Browning does; but he does not believe in it as "fiercely," for he comprehends the eternal aspects of things as they are and does not need to protract them through an infinity of changing time in order to realise that they are eternal. Indeed, the true note of eternity in the mystic sense is markedly absent from Browning's work. It is the note of progress, which is in its nature temporal, that dominates it. Again, the unifying interest of the later portion of the 19th century lay in the conception of humanity entering upon its inheritance of the earth (rather than its inheritance of heaven), materially, intellectually and emotionally; just as its dominating passion was sympathy for the disinherited and forlorn classes. In Browning you may find almost every passion and almost every interest except just these. And again, Browning's robust and confident theistic optimism was far more characteristic of the middle than of the close of the century.

But if this is so, how are we to explain the fact that Browning was accepted as its representative by the very period whose characteristics he failed to reflect?

We have no complete answer to offer, but we would urge in the first place that Mr. Brooke exaggerates the neglect of Browning in his earlier period. "Paracelsus," and in a less degree "Pippa Passes," "Christmas Eve," and "Easter Day," and many of the minor poems, had a much firmer hold on thoughtful Englishmen than Mr. Brooke seems willing to admit, long before the appearance of "The Ring and the Book"; while his individuality and frequent obscurity of style adequately account for the long period during which he had

to wait for fuller recognition. Further, we may well believe that the fashions which we look upon as characteristic of any particular age are more superficial than we imagine, and affect our cliques and coteries rather than the great mass of the reading public. Perhaps the latter end of the 19th century was not so far removed from the middle of it as our literary and scientific fashion books would lead us to suppose. Moreover, if a man is strong enough he may be accepted because he supplements, rather than because he expresses, the characteristic aspirations of the age. It is only weak men that must necessarily be in complete accord with their age in order to impress it. That so many readers who are, or think they are, inspired by social enthusiasms should never have marked the absence of social ideals in their favourite poet, is a wonderful testimony to the invigorating power of his optimism, and the vital force of his noble humanity, tenderness and toleration. He has strengthened social reformers, too, on the side where they most needed strength, for he has perpetually kept them conscious of the fact that social reforms can only bear their ultimate fruits in individual experiences, and that society only exists, apart from its members, by a figure of speech. Browning is the poet of the individual, and it is in the individual, after all, that all social results must at last be realised.

There is one more point on which we have to express dissent from Mr. Brooke's views. He holds that there is nothing specifically English about Browning, whereas to us, Browning, for all his width, remains in fibre profoundly English; and the ordinary middle-class Englishman finds in him a man who knows everything, has been everywhere, and sympathises with everyone, and yet tells him at the end of it all that he, the Englishman, is roughly right in his morals, his theology and his general ideas, and need not look down upon himself in the least.

The British public, then, has received from Browning a larger and at the same time a wholesomer expansion of its horizon, and enrichment of its sympathies than it could have received from all the luminaries of the Continent put together, and this without budging an inch from its own centre, or from the self-satisfaction which is the breath of its nostrils. To those who are capable of receiving more than this Browning has given more; but it is a stupendous feat to have given so much to the rank and file of the English reading public.

A word in conclusion as to Browning's religious philosophy, in which many of his admirers find one of his chief fascinations. It will be difficult, in the face of Mr. Pigou's masterly study, to maintain that Browning can take rank as an original or consistent system builder. But what then? The poet's method is only incidentally intellectual. It consists essentially in quickening the spiritual sense, in presenting and vivifying a conception of life. And who shall say to how many, in this generation, Browning has so presented life as to make it beautiful

and noble? This after all is the only ultimate theodicy ; and whatever we may say or think of Browning, the fact remains that in our time larger numbers of those who take life earnestly have found their highest thought formulated, their highest personal aspiration defended, their highest personal life placed above the ebb and flow of their own uncertain moods, in Browning, than in any other writer of the day.

PHILIP H. WICKSTEED.

OUR RELATIONS WITH GERMANY.

WHEN Frederick the Great curtailed Voltaire's morning allowance of sugar and chocolate, the great Frenchman retaliated by pocketing the wax candles in the royal ante-chamber. We all know how that chapter in history ended; how Voltaire's pirouetting and grimacing—and no man, as Macaulay said, ever paid better compliments than Voltaire—availed him nothing; how the rift between the soldier-statesman, who would be the poetaster, and the poet, who would be the diplomatist, gradually widened until the poet's flight from the "Palace of Alcina" and celebrated arrest put an end to the spectacle and filled all Europe with wonder. Both these extraordinary men were philosophers, colossal cynics, poets—Frederick in Carlyle's sense; were moved by the spirit that always denies; both denied Shakespeare and the Christian God. But face to face the devil in the one roused the devil in the other; they parted, to meet no more. Still they needed one another; the correspondence was renewed and continued unbroken to the end.

Now ever since the despatch of Mr. Krüger's Ultimatum, Europe, and in particular the Germans, have been indulging in somewhat similar antics. Not content with the plums in their own pie they have insisted upon plucking at the plums in other people's, with disastrous effects to European decorum and to the ambitions of a brave farmer nation. Anglophobia is now a factor, for good or for evil, in the policy of nations. Of its intensity at the full flush only those who "went through" it can speak with authority. We may differ as to its ultimate significance, just as we differ as to the final value of submarine torpedo craft, but of this there is no question: that they both require watching, and have both to be reckoned with. So much can be said: At no time in the history of England, not even in the savage outbreak on the Continent following upon the execution of King Charles I., has such a collective animus of hate and envy been hurled upon England, and upon the fair name of Englishmen.

It is good that we should know it. The war is over now; we have issued from the struggle more powerful in our own sight and in the

eyes of the nations. We have come into our own again. On the Continent Anglophobia has burnt itself low; our fiercest foes are silent and somewhat perturbed. And now that it is over, and the piper has begun to pipe again, political people in Germany are asking themselves what the hulla-ba-loo has all been about, and are asking us what we have to be offended at. "*Le cœur a ses raisons que la raison ne connaît pas.*" Germany is knocking at the postern gate tendering concord and goodwill. Are we to clasp the proffered hand? Before we decide, it may be as well to pass in review the events of the last few years, *seriatim*, and take stock of their substance.

It is unfortunate, though for the sake of proportion indispensable, to have to harp back upon the Jameson raid, the root-evil in South African politics. Still, we need a date for German Anglophobia, and we find it in the year 1896, when the raid, if it did nothing else, taught Mr. Krüger to arm, and inspired the Emperor with a telegram. The raid and the telegram form convenient landmarks both for the study of the war and for the study of Anglophobia. We woke up one morning, learnt that we were very unpopular, and that a crowned head had told us so. It was a surprise to most of us, and it was equally so to the Germans who knew little about the Transvaal or Mr. Krüger, and to the great majority of whom the policy of their Emperor appeared vague and inconsequent. What the raid was for the Boers the Krüger telegram was for the Germans. It set the seal upon Bismarckian anti-English tradition; it made the Emperor, in a morning, the most popular man in Germany, and it marked the starting point of German forward policy. From that moment Anglophobia in Germany, until then passive and latent, became an active force in German politics.

We know now why the telegram was sent, how it failed of its purpose, and how France offered us the French army. Time went on; we forgot the telegram, and unfortunately the cause of it. Prince Henry set out for the Far East; the Emperor obtained his naval programme, obtained Kiao-Chow, the grace of the Sultan, and a sound financial footing in Asia Minor. Then came the Dreyfus affair, through the whole of which the German Press, despite every provocation, exhibited masterly self-control, and, in its wake, the Fashoda incident. Canon MacColl has told us (*Fortnightly Review*, April, 1901) the sorry part then played by Germany; how she bade France stand firm and offered to assist her by creating a diversion in South Africa, and how M. Delcassé, finding no encouragement in Russia, declined the pact on the ground of inequality of risks. We now come to the Samoan episode. After much blustering and blundering, having nearly driven Germany to the verge of desperation, we wisely, as we had probably all along intended to do, conceded her claim, and ceded Samoa. Little gifts, as the French say, preserve friendship. The cession of Samoa signed Germany's neutrality. It is notable for two other facts—the

icy language of Count Bülow's reference to England in his speech before the Reichstag notifying the ratification of the treaty, and secondly, what is equally interesting but has been little noticed in England, the significant feature that it was the Press, and behind it the public, which, during a critical juncture in the negotiations and when the Emperor was despairing of success, nerved the Government to continue, and obtain possession of the island. The feeling ran high against England then, but it had still to mature before asserting its voice freely.

One morning Germany was agog with amazement. Cecil Rhodes was in Berlin and had been received, *incredibile dictu*,—in a morning jacket—by the German Emperor. Both men seem to have been genuinely impressed by one another, and it is on record that his Majesty, after the interview, expressed a wish for a minister of like stamp. Six months later we were at war in South Africa.

At the first shock of war all Germany, quivering, looked on in silence. But the fortune of war was against us, and the torrent of abuse burst forth. As the days went on and the situation darkened, the feeling throughout Germany rose. German women suddenly became political and evinced for the Boers a sympathy such as the sufferings of Poles, of Finns, of Armenians, of Greeks, of Jews, and of Danish farm girls had been unable to awaken. A bitter feeling possessed the army, and in the mind of honest Michael a hazy vision opened of Imperial intervention and the downfall of England. The Press immediately got out of hand, and for the first time since the Franco-Prussian war became the mouthpiece of public opinion which it was thereafter to direct. As in the Spanish-American war the Press championed the cause of Spain and foretold the "débâcle" of America, so was the doom of England proclaimed. A *maelström* of abuse, calumny, vilification, hatred, envy and "Schadenfreude" whirled through the vast German Press, stifling all protest and dimming reason. Up and down the country the passion raged, to the amazement of the Emperor, who having sounded Mr. Krüger and found him impracticable had long since recanted, and was already "full steam ahead" on a totally different policy. Immediately that it became evident that the war was to be a serious matter, a system arose for feeding the Press. Mr. Leyds' laboratory and a free flux of Transvaal gold did the rest; the comic Press, at all times inconceivably coarse and brutal, found fresh fields for industry; Transvaal "bloodbooks" sprung into being with pictures worthy of Attila's Huns and a staple text of calumny and insult. Boer funds were started, officers left to fight for the Boers, the clergy predicted the fall of England, professors chafed and women prayed, and the Press became a howling wilderness of unbridled Anglophobia. But we must leave the Press and look higher.

We began the war with our usual bungling. Having bungled in

South Africa, we bungled with Germany and seized her mailships. It may have been warfare, but it was politically clumsy; it was also ungracious. All Germany writhed. But beyond drafting notes in wholly undiplomatic language, which astonished Lord Salisbury, the Wilhelmstrasse could do nothing, and the nation knew it. An interpellation and debate in the Reichstag were inevitable after that, and on January 19th, 1900, Count Bülow gave answer. There was a peremptory tone about his speech and perhaps a shade of a threat which made us very angry at the time, and we answered it lustily with bell and with book. But the lesson was not lost upon Germany, and the Emperor obtained his new naval programme.

There is no doubt whatever that when Mr. Krüger embarked upon war he honestly reckoned upon European intervention. When war came the Czar pledged his word that there should be no interference in South Africa, and Germany, who had sincerely endeavoured to disillusionise Mr. Krüger, declared her neutrality. But Mr. Krüger was not to be convinced; he remembered the telegram and asked Germany to mediate. We had refused arbitration. Mediation was not likely to be forced upon us. So Germany refused, and published her reasons, which were diplomatic and plausible enough for both English and Dutch. Then while Germans were wondering at the waywardness of kings, the Emperor determined to make overt his attitude. Seizing as pretext upon the fearful ravages caused by the famine in India, the Emperor enjoined upon financial circles in Berlin the expediency of help, and collected money. He collected half a million marks. And on May 3rd he telegraphed to the Viceroy of India that "blood was thicker than water", and enclosed his obole. It was a generous and friendly act. And what boots it if people behind the scenes sardonically smiled or Pan-Germans raved at such "shameless sentimentalism"?

At this juncture the murder of the German Ambassador in Peking plunged Europe into consternation. Out of it rose the Chinese imbroglio which proved a happy diversion for the Powers, gave the Germans a hobby, and distracted attention from the doings on the veldt. Count Bülow succeeded to the chancellorship, the Anglo-German agreement was published, and on December 3rd, after the police had muddled and permitted the Boer delegates to be fêted at Cologne, the official rebuff was administered to Mr. Krüger. His reception at Paris had been harmless enough; the students had serenaded him while the Quartier Latin had been pleasantly excited. Germany had hoped to do likewise; the disappointment was great, the indignation unbounded. But the Emperor knew his "Pappenheimer;" his Pan-German redskins were not to be trusted, and to avoid all trouble he shut the door in Mr. Krüger's face. Still the people were not to be flouted. Count Bülow was called to account in the Reichstag for the agreement with England, for the English policy

of the Emperor, and for the non-reception of the fugitive Boer President. He answered at length in a memorable speech. Nothing, he said, could have been gained by Mr. Krüger's entry into Berlin or by his reception by the Emperor; Germany was neutral and pursued purely national ends; if he did not know that the Emperor acted in the interests of Germany, he would not remain a day longer in the Chancellorship; and as for the Yangtse agreement, he did not think Germans had cause to complain—German opinion was against him, but it was the duty of the Government to stem the popular tide when it threatened to jeopardise the interests of the country, and in a war with England in South Africa had not the Kruger telegram shown Germany that she would be isolated and that she would have to face England alone?

As in his Samoan speech the Chancellor's reference to England was of a chilly nature, and we learnt—some of us did—for the first time the denominative significance of the Yangtse agreement.

We come now to the year 1901 and to the illness of the late Queen. Despite the protests of his subjects, the Emperor chivalrously cast politics to the winds and hastened to the death-bed of Queen Victoria. He won our hearts. He was made Field Marshal of the British Army and presented Lord Roberts with the Order of the Black Eagle. This was too much for Germany. The Emperor's visit and prolonged sojourn in England, but especially the presentation of the Black Eagle to Lord Roberts, rendered Germans frantic. For the moment passion seemed to obtain the ascendant; and when, shortly afterwards, King Edward having come to Cronberg to see his sister, it was rumoured that the King might pass through Berlin, the Press said bluntly that it could not be permitted. So virulent were the attacks that the *North German Gazette* had to enter a protest. King Edward wisely did not go to Berlin and opinion was satisfied. But there can be no question that, had the King entered Berlin at that moment, the public would have hooted, and serious friction between the two peoples would most probably have arisen. Again the Reichstag demanded explanations. Count Bülow was arraigned and bidden to give answer. He declared boldly that the Emperor was his own master, that his visit to England was natural in the circumstances as was the appreciation it met with from the English people and Press; that it had no vestige of political importance; that the bestowal of Prussian orders was the prerogative of the Emperor as King of Prussia, and that Lord Roberts not being a political personality, the distinction was divested of all political significance. Then, as the English Press and Lord Cranborne insisted on the fallacy that the Yangtse agreement extended to Manchuria, it fell to Count Bülow to put things straight. The agreement, he went on to tell us, had no reference to Manchuria, and he had expressly stipulated so when drafting its clauses.

To dispel an illusion is like ~~laying~~ ^{slaying} a ghost. In England our Shibboleths are wont to die hard. And we clung to this Manchurian fallacy with our wonted tenacity. The singular fatuity which induced us to hope that there was any agreement *in esse* or *in posse* that could bind Germany to action against Russia is a striking example of the evils of war and the political obliquity its issues engender. With a lack of prescience unusual in the *Daily Mail*, that journal suggested that we should give up the policy of the open door, and set up in its place a policy of English priority of interests in the Yangtse valley: the one thing the Yangtse agreement had frustrated, and the Emperor had worked for, as the *Cologne Gazette* immediately reminded us. Evil things are said about the authors of that agreement which need not be repeated; we have since found a remedy. When we had satisfied ourselves that the Wilhelmstrasse had "done" us, we turned to our natural ally in the Far East, and signed a bond with Japan. That gave us what we wanted; and as the German Emperor said, the only wonder is that we had not done it long before.

The burning of farms, the concentration camps—the grand blunder of the war—and the "filthy lies" circulated about the ferocity of "Tommy" had given Anglophobia a wholly new aspect. It is true that in China Germans had given no quarter, but then the Emperor had so ordered it; Professor Delbrück had been fined for pleading for the Danes. A scapegoat was needed; someone, as the Patriarch in Lessing's "Nathan the Wise" said, "had to be burnt." Proof was not forthcoming, nor was it sought for. Germans believed, because they wished to believe, that Lord Kitchener was a butcher and that his soldiers were like Alva's when sacking Flemish towns. While Germans were thus thinking Mr. Chamberlain made a speech.

We remember what he said, we remember what followed. A garbled version of the speech lit the brand throughout Germany. As version followed version, a pandemonium arose, until no one knew or cared what the exact words uttered were; what their purport or intent. As in the days of Kotzebue, the students led the way, the professors in the van. Mr. Chamberlain was burnt in effigy, was portrayed on spittoons, and a lunatic threw a stone at the windows of the British Embassy. But the passions cooled; and, just as everybody had forgotten all about it, Count Bülow delivered his memorable "granite" speech. Now, till that moment Count von Bülow had accurately gauged the patience of the stoic British people. If he had never said a nasty thing, he had never said a nice one. And this was to be no exception. The fact is, Count von Bülow mistook his ground, mistook his man, mistook the English people. His proleptic wisdom failed him. For once the policy of bluff, the Dogberry manner, the "chest tone" fell short. With his granite he struck fire in the fibres of a nation, which burnt brightly and is still burning. In thus pandering to the popular ear Count von Bülow cannot be so easily forgiven.

His position as Chancellor was an assured one; he had no rival; he enjoys the friendship and the full confidence of his Imperial Master; he is a statesman and a man of the world. *Pace* Sir Rowland Blennerhasset, the Pan-Germans were not in power, nor did they ask him, nor did political exigency compel him, to be either their spokesman or their Satrap. Why did he do it? We fancy he wanted a phrase, a mordant epigram to square his followers and fell his foe. So, as is very natural in a German statesman, he looked through the dicta of the great soldier Frederick. Nor did he look in vain. But the man who could purloin Silesia for seven years fight and defy all Europe, beard a Pompadour, lampoon the "Câtin du Nord", dismiss a Blücher, rattan his judges and confound a Voltaire with his own weapons, such a man could well afford to stand upon granite and belittle the world.

If Count Bülow had read deeper in the literary *ana* of that master-mind he might have come upon another anecdote and found wisdom therein. It was during the Silesian wars. Frederick, who had been travelling incognito, had put up at some stray inn by the wayside. We must imagine him shaking the snuff from his tattered blue coat before retiring to rest; a summary knock at the door and the intrusion of the landlord who bade Frederick betake himself to some smaller and less expensive apartment, a gentleman of quality having ridden up and demanded the "best" room. Frederick obeyed. But the next morning, before leaving, he wrote the following couplet in the visitors' book:—"Wenn mancher Mann wusste wer mancher man wär, gäb mancher Mann manchem Mann manchmal mehr Ehr"—which is fine alliteration and means "If many a man knew who many a man was, then many a man would treat many a man sometimes with more honour." Precisely so. And we cannot help thinking that had Count Bülow realised that; had he better understood Mr. Chamberlain and the English people; but, above all, had he understood that the name of the army, like the *spretta forma* of a woman, is the one point upon which a nation, as a woman, will brook no jesting, that speech about granite biting had never been uttered.

The Reichstag—all Germany—rejoiced. Here, at any rate, was a man! The honour of the German army had been redeemed. A few days later, as if to cast oil upon the waters, Count Bülow came down to the Reichstag and spoke a second time. Having shot his bolt, satisfied the Pan-Germans, and associated himself with the foul slanders upon the British Army, Count Bülow—it had all carefully been arranged—held out the olive branch. But even then all that he could find to say was that "English soldiers have known how to die." The shaft found its billet. It awoke a strident echo. Mr. Chamberlain answered firmly with tact and dignity; Mr. Balfour did the same. The effect was instantaneous. Immediately the German Press campaign of slander and calumny ceased. Germans discovered that they had not been so "deeply insulted" after all. It was for all

the world like a Drury Lane transformation scene; it had all been much ado about nothing.

And so it had. Yet it has not been without usefulness. It has broken with the policy of bluff, exploded an illusion, brought a nation to reason, and blasted the fee-faw-fum of Count Bülow and Mr. Chamberlain. It was an honest give and take, a very Wartburg trial of skill; and, if both nations claim the victory, both nations are unquestionably the better for it. From that moment the German journalist buried his hatchet. And when subsequently after some pourparlers, interchange of civilities and assurances H.R.H. the Prince of Wales visited his imperial cousin, the consummate address of the German Emperor dispelled the official cloud. The Prince brought with him a copy of Pesnes' famous portrait of Frederick the Great and presented it to the Emperor, who in the messroom of his second Dragoon regiment delivered a friendly and well chosen speech. But that was not all. When the Prince of Wales, in firm and dignified language, explained to Count Bülow the serious ill-feeling which the granite speech had caused in England, the Emperor was present, an approving listener; nor did his Majesty, like King James, stand by his "Steenie." And so the incident closed. But as Goethe said, the smallest hair throws its shadow, and it will be some time, on this side of the channel, before either the people or the Government will forget it.

The thunder following upon the flash of that outburst had hardly rolled away, when it was announced from Berlin that the German Emperor was sending his brother to the United States, nominally to witness the christening of his new yacht "Meteor," but in reality to pave the way—and events have justified his policy—for a better understanding between the American and German peoples. The keen eye of the Emperor had for years been riveted upon the United States. He had informed himself of its resources, watched its growth and grasped its possibilities long before Mr. Stead spoke, or the giant arm of the Trusts had brought home to us its dangers. In some dim vista of the future, what we have now found in Japan he thought he could descry in America. The hysterical outbreak against Americans during the Spanish-American war had for the time thwarted his plans. But the outburst was soon ended, because American guns were good, and Spanish bottoms old-fashioned. The moment seemed propitious, there was a coolness with England, differences with Venezuela, differences with America, and differences dating from the Spanish-American war could be cleared up and a new era opened. Besides, Americans bore no rancour and were too busy to resent it.

The triumphal visit of the Prince of Wales to the Colonies had profoundly impressed the most impressionable of reigning sovereigns, and with characteristic promptness the Emperor acted. At this juncture, while the "Hohenzollern" yacht was being scrubbed down,

and Prince Henry was studying Mr. Bryce on the Constitution, a diplomatic bombshell was launched from Paris. It was an old query, raising the question of the attitude of the Powers towards America in 1898. The only notable point about it was its mysterious appearance at that moment. At the same time, oddly enough, Lord Cranborne, in reply to a question by Mr. Norman, stated, in one of his elliptical utterances, that England had frustrated the efforts of the Powers to enforce mediation upon the United States in 1898. This was carefully noted at the Wilhelmstrasse, where it was immediately ascribed to British intrigue. A counter report was sent to America which we dubbed an "absurd statement." Then the semi-official *North German Gazette* opened fire; Germany, it is said, had refused England's offer of intervention. Lord Cranborne made a second oracular statement. This was too much for the German Emperor, who threw his trump card and published documents. America smiled good-humouredly: and a horse laugh rang through the chanceries of Europe. A third Delphic utterance on the part of Lord Cranborne, and there the matter, officially, rests. Explanations were exchanged, we remonstrated with Germany, who showed no contrition and challenged us to disprove it; but we drew our mantle close about us and entered a *nolle prosequi*; while Mr. White, the United States Ambassador to Berlin, assured Americans that they now knew that Germany had always been the friend of America. Once more Germany revealed her soul to us—which this time was really white—and ever since then when the German Press is at a loss for a gibe, the episode is raked up and hurled at our heads.

Prince Henry's panoramic passage through the United States had been a decided success, and it only remained to put a signet to the bond. Bonaparte's policy of "indemnities" is a thing of the past; peoples and countries can no longer be bartered for, and in its place has come a policy of fair words and presents, in which latter art the German Emperor is without peer. He offered the Americans a statue of Frederick the Great. It was accepted. If it has taken us so many years to erect a statue to the great "Constable" of England, we have no cause to gibe if Americans, who go faster than we do, find a place for the great maker of Prussia, who, it must be admitted, did favour the new world, albeit for his ends and to small purpose. There in the quadrangle of the Soldier's Home at Washington Frederick will stand, grim phantom of the past, symbolic of the future.

But we must return to the German Press. Since the anti-Chamberlain outbreak a better tone had prevailed, and serious efforts were made to counteract its results. If the end of the war was anticipated its completeness was not. When the end finally did come, and the conditions of peace were known, the hopes of all "good Germans" came down with a run. All reserve was discarded, and a great wail of disappointment and mortification went up through

Germany. It was felt that we had triumphed, and that another corner of the globe had been closed to Germany. And, as if to warn us that our triumph was not perfect, the semi-official Press informed us that we had not come through the ordeal unscathed, but that our world-power had been shaken; that other constellations had arisen, other forces, and that our sovereignty on the seas, or the supremacy of any one power, had in the future been rendered impossible and was no more to be thought of.

Determined semi-official efforts were now made to regain control of the Press and enforce moderation. *Dis aliter visum*. The sudden illness of the King and the postponement of the Coronation re-opened the flood gates. It was the cry of Nemesis and the finger of God. But the King happily recovered, sober feeling returned. The *North German Gazette*, silent through two full years, administered a rebuke to its contemporaries. Count Waldersee lauded the British Army in the house of Lord Roberts, while Prince Henry explored the harbours of Ireland. This time the semi-official efforts were to be serious, and Baron von Richthofen forgot himself. Meeting the *Times* correspondent at an evening party in the house of a minister, the under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who is perfectly acquainted with English manners, saw fit to attack him. He abused him for misrepresenting German opinion and for "poisonous reporting." We hold no brief for the *Times* correspondent; nor do we care to identify ourselves with his views, or with the policy of his newspaper. But we fancy the opinion of English students of German affairs is behind him, and that his judgment will be upheld. After this "gaffe" Count Berchem, who was brought up under Bismarck, admonished the Press to mend their ways; and attention was called to the brutal coarseness of the German comic Press. Such literature does not so much matter in France where the humblest fisherwoman is a politician; born, and the people scan the papers and sift the scoriæ for themselves. In Germany it is not so. There these prints are a real power, and there are millions whose political judgments are formed upon them. One thing only they dare not, the laws of "lèse-majesté" are too strict; still other sovereigns can be pictured, and legislation is convenient.

We must wind up the account. A German crew has rowed at Cork, won glory and admiration. Michael is now a suitor. He is no bearer of friendship, no lover with a posy, he carries no pledge. He asks us to forget; he offers us equal terms. To most of us Germany is an unmeaning term. Though in ourselves so singularly different, our sympathies, our understanding lie with the culture, the art, the *esprit* of the French. Of the Germans, whom we so much resemble, we know next to nothing. We talk glibly of the "Emperor of Germany," and resent being corrected; we think of Germany as of some vast "stratocracy", a country packed with soldiers, rustics, brewers, dull professors and scientists; we jeer at the language of Goethe, of

Schiller, of Heine; we affect to ignore Germany because she had no Simon de Montfort and because a Bismarck some three decades ago, and not a Norman duke thrice again as many centuries back, gave the country unity and the people nationality. And these are poor reasons. If Germany has a military Government it is because she needs it; her position obviously implies it. If the minds of Germans are "cribbed and cabined", their intellects are not. In power of application, in specialisation, in adaptability and resourcefulness, in thoroughness of endeavour Germans have no equals, and Americans alone can rival them. When the Empire was proclaimed at Versailles, a people was literally made. Germans seemed to slough their skins and put on a fresh front. The days when Kant, the philosopher of Königsberg, was threatened with "our highest displeasure" are over. Philistinism and what Baron von Stein called the "German lazy love of slander" are still characteristics of Germans, but the age of sentimentalism, of Klopstockian altruism, of "meta-politics" is past. Prussians are the most irreligious people in Europe, the most critical, the most scientific, the most strenuous. Could Heine—who was a true patriot—return, he might possibly be reconciled: even Goethe might be inspired to write an ode to Nationality; certainly Madame de Stael would have to revise her graceful work upon Germany.

The world-policy of Germany is natural because it is inevitable. The economic forces which govern the new Imperialism of England act also, though in infinitely lesser degree, in Germany, as they are acting in America. Germany cannot stand still. From an agrarian, she is becoming an industrial state; from a people ruled by military and aristocratic caste, a nation saturated with socialism, the most elaborate and scientifically organised movement of modern times. She has a large surplus population, she must find new markets. If, as Professor Seeley said, the keynote of the 18th century was the struggle between England and France for the new world, the keynote of the 20th century will assuredly be the struggle between England and Germany for economic supremacy both in the new and the old worlds. The United States may be arbiter, and may absorb them both.

Let us grasp one premiss and the rest will follow. Germany never can be our friend. Economically, because she has the same aims as we have, and is propelled forward by the same economic motor forces; politically, because of her position between France and Russia—though the present balance of power is probably not indefinite—geographically and ethnologically, because owing to her position in the centre of Europe as the pillar of all German speaking peoples she must make for expansion and for command of the sea-coasts; psychologically, because the German peoples are by nature envious, hostile to England, and tend to become more so. The Pan-Germanic idea, as yet in its infancy, is no idle chimera. It is a movement *en*

marche: its complement is the Navy League; together they are likely to go far. It is by no means impossible that Germany may eventually cajole or coerce Holland into some form of Alliance—Germany to defend Holland, Holland to give Germany free access to the seas. The war has unquestionably thrown Holland into the mesh of Pan-Germans.

We read a good deal now about the "isolation" of Germany, her effusive clinging to Russia; about the "rotteness" of the Triple Alliance, and the "rapprochement" of Italy to France. Doubtless with some truth. The Triple Alliance is not what it was; it has changed in form rather than in substance. So too have the conditions from which it arose. For purposes of defence the Triple Alliance is as effective as it ever was. If Italy is coquetting with France, Germans need not fear. The loser is England; the focus of danger is now nearer to our own shores: it is in the Mediterranean. It will not be with Germany that we may have to do. Germany requires rest, a decade of peace; she has to put her house in order, to build her fleet, and establish a sound financial policy. She will expand. We cannot check her. And why should we? "*Opus est pluribus umbris.*" We have learnt our lesson. We see the past as a whole; we must provide for the future accordingly. If we forgive Germany's bawling let us not forget it. Let us be philosophical, courteous and amiable. Politics have nothing to do with sentiment. Germany can be of real use to us, just as we shall doubtless continue to be of use to her. This one thing let us remember. Could Germany crush us, she would. We must meet her with her own weapons, which are these—brains, science, thoroughness. Above all our fleet must be invincible.

PATRIAE QUIS EXUL.

TCHAIKOVSKY AND TOLSTOI.

THE first meeting of two great personalities invariably affords some interest to the onlookers, whether it bring love at first sight, or prove merely the starting point of a ripening and constant friendship. On the other hand, should it result in mutual disenchantment, or avowed antagonism, it is even more interesting to the cynical observer. When we recall the first interviews between great men, it is remarkable how few seem to have concluded with entirely agreeable impressions on both sides. Schiller, meeting Goethe for the first time at Rudolstadt, was conscious that the latter—although but ten years his senior—had already passed out of his own epoch. "Goethe's world is not my world," he wrote; "our modes of conceiving things appear to be essentially different. From such a combination, no secure substantial intimacy can result." Goethe felt an even stronger sense of incompatibility. It needed time and frequent intercourse to effect the union of these two great spirits. Beethoven, who met Goethe at the waters of Teplitz in 1812, thought the poet a snob, and said so with characteristic frankness. "Goethe puts on too many Court graces," wrote the democratic musician; "what can be said of the absurdities of the virtuosi here when a poet, who is regarded as the foremost teacher of the nation, can forget everything for this empty glitter?" Goethe's first impressions of Beethoven were not more favourable. "His talents astonish me," he confided to Zelter, "but unfortunately he is one of those undisciplined natures who are not wrong in finding the world detestable, but who do nothing to make it more enjoyable for themselves and others." When Brahms met Tchaikovsky for the first time *unter vier Augen*, the interview was marked by the most perfect candour on both sides. Wagner called on Liszt during his visit to Paris in 1842, and was so much ruffled by the virtuoso's inattentive attitude that he paid no second visit. "Take Liszt to a better world," he declared, indignantly, "and he will treat the assembly of angels to a 'Fantaisie sur le Diable.'"

But I might multiply *ad nauseam* instances in which great men who have met in a spirit of mutual admiration have parted in disillusionment. Enough has been said to prove that the relations between the two most famous Russians of their day were in no way exceptional because, beginning with uneasiness and excessive idolatry, they never ripened into frequent and harmonious intercourse.

A letter from Tchaikovsky to his sister, Madame A. Davidov, dated Moscow, December 23rd, 1876, contains the first reference to his meeting with Tolstoi: "Count Leo Tolstoi has been staying here for a few days. He called several times and spent two whole evenings with me. I feel immensely flattered and proud of having awakened his interest; on my part, I am fascinated by his ideal personality." *

Tchaikovsky was not at that time one of the popular idols of Russian society. In 1876, that beneficent fairy godmother Frau von Meck had not yet appeared upon the scene to lift him above the struggle for daily existence. He was still teaching harmony at the Conservatoire of Moscow, and although the eyes of the musical world were fixed upon him, expectant of great things to come, "Eugene Onegin," "Dame de Pique," the "Casse-Noisette Suite," the "Pathetic" Symphony—almost all the works which have appealed most forcibly to the popular taste—were as yet unwritten. He was then thirty-seven years of age, but could hardly be said to have "arrived." Tolstoi, on the other hand, had already given to the world his "Cossacks" and "Peace and War." His literary fame was established. The heart of young Russia had gone out to him and Tchaikovsky was no exception to his generation. His ardent temperament and quick imagination caused him to invest all his unknown heroes with almost divine attributes. Tolstoi, he tells us, appeared to him "not so much an ordinary mortal as a demigod." For such an enthusiastic nature, contact with actualities too often bred disappointment. In 1876, neither the personality nor the private life of Tolstoi were public property to the extent they are nowadays. It was still possible to surround him with a mysterious glamour. It is not surprising therefore that when this Olympian being descended from his cloud-capped heights and appeared in Tchaikovsky's modest flat, the mere mortal should have owned it to be "the most flattering moment of his life."

Ten years afterwards we find this interview recorded in Tchaikovsky's Diary, when the note of disenchantment is clearly heard. "When first I met Tolstoi, I was possessed by terror and felt uneasy in his presence. It seemed that this great secret of human hearts must be able to read at a glance the inmost secrets of

* The letters, as well as the quotations from the composer's Diary, which appear in this article, are taken with the kind permission of author and publisher from "The Life and Letters of P. I. Tchaikovsky," by Modeste Tchaikovsky (Moscow: P. Jurgenson), still in course of publication.

"my own. I was convinced that not the smallest evil or weakness could escape his eye; therefore it would avail nothing to show him only my best side. If he be generous (and that is a matter of course), I reflected, he will probe the diseased area as kindly and delicately as a surgeon who knows the tender spots and avoids irritating them. If he is not so compassionate, he will lay his finger on the wound without more ado. In either case, the prospect alarmed me. In reality nothing of the sort took place. The great analyst of human nature proved in his intercourse with his fellow-men to be a simple, sincere, whole-hearted being, who made no display of that omniscience I so dreaded. Evidently he did not regard me as a subject for dissection, but simply wanted to chat about music, in which, at that time, he was greatly interested. Among other things, he seemed to enjoy depreciating Beethoven, and even directly denying his genius. This is an unworthy trait in a great man. The desire to lower a genius, whom all the world has acknowledged, to the level of one's own *misunderstanding* of him, is generally a characteristic of narrow-minded people."

Either it is the mature Tchaikovsky of 1886 who thus takes up the defence of Beethoven, or the manner of the attack must have left a painful impression upon him, for it is doubtful if at the time of his first meeting with Tolstoi an irreverent attitude towards Beethoven would have shocked him greatly. When Glinka inveighed against many of the musical idols of his day, he certainly did not include this master, for whom he felt profound admiration and respect. But some of the younger generation carried their iconoclasm a step further, and in 1871 Tchaikovsky had written this cold-blooded estimate of Beethoven's genius:—

"I am not disposed to proclaim the infallibility of Beethoven's principles, and without in any way denying his historical importance, I protest against the insincerity of an equal and indiscriminate laudation of all his works. But undoubtedly *in some of his symphonies* Beethoven reached a height to which *scarcely any of his contemporaries* could attain."

Tolstoi not only wished to chat about music in general. He expressed particular interest in Tchaikovsky's own compositions. That Tolstoi's attitude towards Beethoven's music was like that of the unmusical old gentleman who "hated all your Bee-thovens in Z"; that he denied to two-thirds of this master's works such definitely emotional qualities as could raise them to his standard of "infectious" music, does not seem to have aroused Tchaikovsky's suspicions as to the value of his critical opinion. Besides inclining to the same view, that the earlier masters—especially Mozart—had more solid virtues to their credit, he was under the spell of a great personality. In order to gratify Tolstoi's interest, he asked Nicholas Rubinstein to organise a musical evening at the Conservatoire exclusively in honour of the

great writer. The programme included the Andante from Tchaikovsky's string quartet in D major, and, judging from the following extract from the composer's Diary, its infectious quality was fully demonstrated. "Never in the whole course of my life did I feel so flattered, never so proud of my creative power, as when Leo Tolstoi, sitting by my side, listened to my Andante while the tears streamed down his face."

A few days later, when Count Tolstoi had returned to Yasnaya Polyana, Tchaikovsky received the following letter. The songs referred to were evidently a collection of folk-tunes, made perhaps by Tolstoi himself:—

"I am sending you the songs, dear Peter Ilich, having already looked them through. In your hands they will be wonderful gems: but for God's sake treat them in the Mozart-Haydn style and not after the Beethoven-Schumann-Berlioz School, which strives only for the sensational. How much more I had to tell you! But there was no time, because I was simply enjoying myself. My last visit to Moscow will always remain a most pleasant memory. I have never received a more precious reward for all my literary labours than that evening. How charming is (Nicholas) Rubinstein! Thank him for me once more. Aye, and all the other priests of the highest of all arts who made so pure and profound an impression upon me! I can never forget all that was done for my benefit in that round hall. To which of them shall I send my works? That is to say, who does not possess them?

"I have not looked at your things yet. As soon as I have done so, I shall write you my opinion—whether you want it or not—because I admire your talent. Good-bye, with a friendly handshake,

"Yours,

"L. TOLSTOI."

Tchaikovsky's reply followed almost immediately:—

"Honoured Count! Accept my sincere thanks for the songs. I must tell you frankly that they have been taken down by an unskilful hand and, in consequence, nearly all their original beauty is lost. The chief mistake is that they have been forced artificially into a regular rhythm. Only the Russian choral-dances have a regularly accented measure; the legends (*Bylini*) have nothing in common with the dances. Besides, most of these songs have been written down in the lively key of D major, and this is quite out of keeping with the tonality of the genuine Russian folk-songs, which are always in some indefinite key, such as can only be compared with the old Church Modes. Therefore the songs you have sent are unsuitable for systematic treatment. I could not use them for an album of folk-songs, because, for this purpose, the tunes must be taken down

"**exactly** as the people sing them. This is a difficult task, demanding **the** most delicate musical perception as well as great knowledge **of** musical history. With the exception of Balakirev—and to a **certain** extent Prokounin—I do not know anyone who really **under-**stands this work. But your songs can be used as symphonic material **—**and excellent material too—of which I shall certainly avail myself **at** some future time. I am glad you keep a pleasant recollection of **your** evening at the Conservatoire. Our quartet played as they **have** never done before. From which you must infer that one pair **of** ears, if they belong to such a great artist as yourself, has more **incentive** power with musicians than a hundred ordinary pairs. You **are** one of those authors of whom it may be said that their personality **is** as much beloved as their works. It was evident that, well as **they** generally play, our artists exerted themselves to the utmost **for** one they honoured so greatly. What I feel, I must express: I **cannot** tell you how proud and happy it made me that my music **could** so touch you and carry you away.

"Except Fitzenhagen, who cannot read Russian, your books are **known** to all the other members of the quartet. But I am sure **they** would be grateful if you gave them each one volume of your works. **For** myself, I am going to ask you to give me 'The Cossacks'; if **not** immediately, then later on, when next you come to Moscow—an **event** to which I look forward with impatience. If you send your **portrait** to Rubinstein, do not forget me."

It may seem strange that this letter, in spite of its friendly tone, marks the end of all personal intercourse between Tolstoi and Tchaikovsky. Moreover it is evident that the latter voluntarily renounced more intimate relations with his hero. The entries in his Diary explain his feelings on this point. It vexed him that "the **lord** of his intellect" should care to talk of "commonplace subjects **unworthy** of his genius." He was afraid that his pleasure in the works of his "sage and prophet" might suffer from such close proximity as would reveal all his little human failings. Again, he was aware of a certain self-consciousness in the presence of Tolstoi, quite out of keeping with his normal simplicity of nature. In fact, the positions were now reversed, and it was Tolstoi who had most to suffer from Tchaikovsky's analytical methods.

Another cause probably helped to keep them apart as time went on. Greatly as Tchaikovsky admired Tolstoi the writer, he was never in complete sympathy with Tolstoi the philosopher. The Diary for 1886 contains the following comment upon "What I believe":—

"When we read the autobiographies or memoirs of great men, we **frequently** find that their thoughts and impressions—and more **especially** their artistic sentiments—are such as we ourselves have **experienced** and can therefore fully understand. There is only *one*

"who is incomprehensible, who stands alone and aloof in his greatness: Leo Tolstoi. But often I feel angry with him; I almost hate him. Why, I ask myself, should this man, who more than all his predecessors has power to depict the human soul with such wonderful harmony, who can fathom our poor intellect and follow the most secret and tortuous windings of our moral nature; why must he needs appear as a Preacher, and set up to be our teacher and guardian? Hitherto he has succeeded in making a profound impression by the recital of simple, everyday events. We might read between the lines his noble love of mankind, his compassion for our helplessness, our mortality and pettiness. How often have I wept over his words without knowing why! . . . Perhaps because for a moment I was brought into contact—through his medium—with the Ideal, with absolute happiness, and with humanity. Now he appears as a commentator of texts, who claims a monopoly in the solution of all questions of faith and ethics. But through all his recent writings blows a chilling wind. We feel a tremor of fear at the consciousness that he, too, is a mere man; a creature as much puffed up as ourselves about 'The End and Aim of Life,' 'The Destiny of Man,' 'God,' and 'Religion,'; and as madly presumptuous, as ineffectual as some ephemera born on a summer's day to perish at eventide. Once Tolstoi was a Demigod. Now he is only a priest. . . . Tolstoi says that formerly, knowing nothing, he was mad enough to aspire to teach men out of his ignorance. He regrets this. Yet here he is beginning to teach us again. Then we must conclude he is no longer ignorant. Whence this self-confidence? Is it not foolish presumption? The true sage knows only that he knows nothing."

Such are Tchaikovsky's views on the philosophy of Tolstoi. But as the author of "Peace and War" and of "Anna Karenin" he kept him on a pedestal to the last. After reading "The Death of Ivan Ilich," he made the following entry in his Diary:—

"I am more than ever convinced that the greatest of all writers of all time is Tolstoi. We owe it to him alone that Russians need not bow the head when all the great names of Europe are read out before them. And yet, in my conviction of Tolstoi's immortal greatness, of his almost divine importance, mere patriotism plays no part."

From the personal contact between Tolstoi and Tchaikovsky we can trace no important consequences for the world of music, or of literature. At the same time, Tolstoi's influence has, I believe, counted for something in the character and development of the composer's work. Although Tchaikovsky criticises "What I believe" as a curious medley of wisdom and childish *naïveté*; although he

repudiates the complete philosophy of Tolstoi, there are certain partial aspects of it which may well have haunted his mind, because they are certainly in conformity with his melancholy temperament. The acute realisation of the mortality of things that are, the conviction of the ultimate extinction of the individual life and the illusiveness and futility of human effort are thoughts which he may have borrowed from Tolstoi. We cannot doubt that these were the problems over which he constantly brooded when we listen to his "Hamlet," to the sombre spiritual drama unfolded in the Fifth Symphony, to the first and last movements of the "Pathetic," or to any of those characteristic transitions of mood in which all the light and serenity of his music seem suddenly overshadowed by "the dark, ubiquitous common-place of death."

ROSA NEWMARCH.

ALTERAM PARTEM.

SIR THOMAS BROWNE perceived much virtue in the Quincunx, regarding it, indeed, as the figure of truth, much as Hogarth and others before him regarded a curved line as the figure of beauty. The old mystic of the golden pen might have lost faith in his theory, or at any rate have ceased to ramble, however gorgeously, about his whimsey, had he contemplated a certain five volumes which stand for the emblem of truth to Boer eyes about the Boer War. They are as follows :—

- (i) The Memoirs of Paul Kruger. Told by himself. (T. Fisher Unwin.)
- (ii) Three Years' War. By Christian de Wet. (Constable and Co.)
- (iii) Twenty-three Years' Storm and Sunshine in South Africa. By Adolf Schiel. (F. R. Brockhaus, Leipzig.)
- (iv) My Reminiscences of the Anglo-Boer War. By General Ben Viljoen. (Hood, Douglas and Howard.)
- (v) Through Shot and Flame. By J. D. Kestell, Chaplain to President Steyn and Christian de Wet. (Methuen and Co.)

If it is too much to say that the truth is not in them, it is little enough to say that there is not enough truth in them, not enough for the historian, not enough to maintain the credit of a Quincunx as a symbol, or of the Boer mind as an instrument of veracity.

Of all created mortals the men of the Boer race are incontestably the most inaccurate. That mania, well known to the faculty, which prompts honourable individuals to utter not exactly the thing which is not, but the thing not exactly as it is, however obvious, however detrimental to themselves the manipulation may be, has possessed the South African Dutch to the point of a national obsession. It is not that the Boer has not an abstract regard for the eternal verities; that is as inherent in mankind as a regard for water or air or anything else without which life cannot be supported. Nor is it that he is in very truth as crazed as the pathognomonic prevaricator

before referred to, a species whose mental attitude may be compared to that of a man who finds comfort in reflecting upon a cone attempting to stand upon its apex instead of on its base. It is, to be brief, the result of a distorted system of intellectual dioptrics—that is to say, that any facts refracted through the medium of a Boer mind must necessarily, from an acquired error in the disposition of its lenses, shine out to the world differently from the manner in which they shine within himself. I say acquired; the faulty arrangement is not aboriginal in the Frisian stock, which is indeed somewhat notable in a world of liars for its veracity. It results, probably, from two causes, different but not dissimilar, of a nature such as Hazlitt was fond of calling homologous, the first of which is long contact with the Native races, from Bushmen to Bantus; the second that vinegar which melted so many rocky problems for the Hannibal of Science, Natural Selection. The former demands a minimum of illustration. No men may live and compete with the negroid races for generations and escape the tar of untruthfulness. If a Boer seldom speaks the truth now, a Basuto or a Zulu never has done so in the whole history of his power of articulation. Of the conversation of the Bantu it may truly be said, "*nihil tetigit quod non ornavit*"; a spade to him is not a spade but two spades, or a thousand, or none at all, any number which may adorn his remarks about spades for your or his own edification. So in accounting for possessions to which he is perfectly entitled. His wives, he vociferates, he won in battle, rushing for them across acres of dead men, and he bounds into the air as he relates the fearsome Sabine rape to you, though he knows perfectly well, and he knows that you know, that he purchased them "thirteen as twelve" from the drunken old patriarch of the next kraal for seven cows and two pounds of tobacco apiece. The Boers at their first entry into the country were probably as shocked at this idiosyncrasy as any proselytising curate suddenly precipitated from a Missionary Society of Croydon on to the veld. But so insidious is evil, especially when it possesses that virtue of refinement which Burke considered as robbing it of harm. A picturesque "treatment" of the truth is undoubtedly an ornament of conversation, provided that there is no disguise of its artistic origin either to talker or listener. A Zulu, for instance, never hopes to be believed, it would disconcert him as much as disbelief in the society lie of "not at home" would disconcert the lady whom, noticing her inside the front door, you insisted on following on the pretext that the footman must have been unintentionally mistaken! So insidious is evil, so infectious this particular evil, that the Boers living cheek by jowl with the natural offenders began to acquire their system of conversational decoration, just as, many years later, they took to clothing themselves with the garb of their adversaries, a helmet here, a Sam Browne belt or a pair of Stohwasser leggings there. They have ever been an acquisitive race; they "acquired" Goshen and Stellaland; they acquired Swaziland; they

would have acquired certain other lands had not something particularly impenetrable come down and barred their way, as the iron curtain of a theatre falls between the audience and a conflagration.

For the Natural Selection theory let Darwin's own definition suffice. "If variations (*e.g., the habit of truth*) useful to any organic being do occur, assuredly individuals thus characterised will have the best chance of being preserved in the struggle for life; and from the strong principle of inheritance they will tend to produce offspring similarly characterised." The habit of truth was *not* the "variation" most useful to the organic beings composing the electorate of the Boer Republics. *Verb: sap.*

But if the reader gleaning for information amongst these five books, themselves the gleanings of the great crop of war literature, will not, like fortunate Ruth, gather an ephah, he will be rewarded by more than a grain of truth. In one of them at least, in General Ben Viljoen's cheery little volume, he will have to spread his apron for quite a sheaf. And apart from the accuracy of the series, there is no denying its interest. As I wrote long ago of Boer and Briton, "never had combatants been so mutually mysterious." However plain we may have become to the Boers, the latter, though they have thronged our camps for nearly two years, though we, in numbers that make us squirm when we think of them, have visited their laagers as prisoners, though we have met them in a thousand combats, and by virtue of as many flags of truce, yet have the Boers by some occult means still contrived to retain so much of their mystery that even the spectacle of their leaders struggling top-hatted and frock-coated (*quantum mutati*!) in a maelstrom of cacophonous British folly has failed to dissipate it. We cannot focus them; the lumbering peasant and the romantic guerilla, the noble patriot and the National Scout, the rigid Puritan and (pardon the expression) the confounded liar, all these come crowding upon the imagination of a man sitting down to try to conceive *The Boer*, in such quick succession that, like the spectator gazing at the atrociously twitching processions of a cinematograph (pictures whose "life" can scarce be worth living, so banned are they by St. Vitus), he probably passes his hand across his eyes and gives it up. These books will limn for him the first faint lineaments, the pictorial *chorea* begins to steady itself. There is power in the Quincunx after all if it can assist the big boy to understand, aye, and sympathise with, the little boy, which was ever the most difficult of earthly tasks, as it is one of the most beautiful when accomplished. The thought of the Boer little boy somehow raises a lump in the throat to-day as once it blew fire into the eye and anger into the heart. I would willingly see the pathos of their fall as much overdone in print and on platform as were once the arrogance and perfidy of their attempted ascent. But it is not likely to be so overdone. Icarus, when he takes the form of a nation, can expect few tears at his catastrophe, for a blunder has never aroused

so much pity for its doer as a crime. They who strike for the sun of Sovereignty must take good care that their wings are not of wax.

It is the duty, however, of every Briton to listen to the Boer little boy's efforts to explain himself. The exercise for the temper will be salutary for one thing, though it were but a purblind reader who can see no deeper than the agitated surface of the Boer mind as displayed in these volumes. In parenthesis, let it be understood at the outset how exceedingly difficult it is for a genuine Boer to explain himself at all. Apart from his almost insurmountable tendency to misrepresentation, before referred to, the very vehicle of his thoughts, his language, moves without springs, as if its axle were broken. Vast shoulderings and shovings are necessary to make it follow anything like a sharp turn or a winding track of ideas. Many ideas are inexpressible in it altogether as wholes, and have to be reduced to their constituent parts to be fired off one by one, as a teapot whose spout is choked discharges with spasmodic instalments the liquid necessary to fill a cup of tea. So that the Boer entering the realms of pen, ink and paper, and of crowded recollection, with a bursting desire to make of the two one kingdom of a book, moves indeed in a world not realised, and much must be forgiven him in the matter of style. The Taal is a very bear amongst tongues:—was it not a bear which surprised Doctor Johnson not by dancing well, but by dancing at all? There must be no expectation of what Oliver Wendell Holmes calls impiously the Ma—caulay flowers (O! Sophonisba! Sophonisba! O!) of literature. Exasperatingly enough, there must be no expectation of hearing from men capable of picturing a scene to themselves as vividly as the men of few races can do, how that scene would have appeared to us. What would we not give for a Boer Tolstoy to rivet our eyes, to inspire us, to sicken us with pictures engraved deep in imperishable metal by the hand of genius, pictures of the *schanzes*, the gun-pits, the laagers in the evening, the outposts at the dawn of day? But one Boer has ever lived who could have done this, a fiery soul, who designed many grandeurs for his nation, including a coat-of-arms with which to symbolise them, "whose dreams "all ended in moonshine"—President T. F. Burgers. These volumes are quite singular in their unpicturesqueness, in their neglect of opportunities with which the writer on war alone is blessed. In them bombardments are noiseless; the veld is nothing but a big meadow; the "colours of good and evil," of victory and defeat, are alike a sober monochrome. Though they deal with not the least pathetic example of the most pathetic event on earth, the forfeiture of its existence by a nation, even their pathos is clumsy and forced. Nevertheless, on closing the last of them, the reader, if he be a true man, will sit a long time silent in reflection, not unconscious of that stupid lump in the throat which troubles true men often, but most of all when confronted with the anguish of brave souls whose misery they themselves, however justly, however inevitably, have helped to heap up. The Boers are

miserable at their fate ; there is no doubt about that. Let there be no unctuous drivellings as to the blessings they have earned by defeat, the blessings of peace and good Government, of fraternity, of being set, like a new jewel, in the tiara of the beauty of the Universe, the British Empire. These blessings are real enough, but blame not a man who weeps for his dead mother though he wins a fortune at her death. The dawn breaks cheerlessly enough for the survivors of a ship which has gone down in the night. Money, cattle, building material and good government may heal the sorely stricken body of South Africa. But nothing but an immense tolerance and sympathy, products which we are thankful to say have not ceased to be amongst the exports from British shores, nothing but these will heal the wounds from which the soul of the Boer nation is bleeding so sorely. It will be years before we get any thanks, but it is not the conqueror who should seek for thanks. Time will have brought us all the thanks we want when the Boers, reversing Paul Kruger's grumbling prophecy, shall have "shut us up in a "Kraal," the strong, stout kraal of their hearts

General Viljoen's little volume alone will be read with any great amount of pleasure by British readers, not because it scratches the British back, for, on the contrary, it describes, with no detail of humiliation omitted, some of the most humiliating of our reverses; but because of the author's invariable good humour, and evident desire to be fair, in spite of his deep dislike to us. A keen sense of the ridiculous, moreover, will endear him to his new compatriots, nothing appeals more to Britons than laughter holding both his sides in the very midst of the Slough of Despond. The gallant General's description of his conduct of his first prayer-meeting (p. 168), the surrender of the private soldier (p. 430), and the killingly funny account of the trapping of the pro-British family at Dullstroom (Chap. XXXVIII.) deserve a high place in the literature of humour. But perhaps the gem of the collection is the motion proposed by the general at the deadly earnest Council of War, held in Glencoe Station after the retirement from Ladysmith: "That all the generals be asked to resign!" "The "motion," says Viljoen, pathetically, "was not very well received, and "when it was put to the vote I found that I stood alone, even my "second having forsaken me." Viljoen pokes unlimited fun at our broadcast dissemination of decorations, but his admiration of the—in his eyes—foolish risk young British officers ran to win what Mr. Labouchere would call the distinction of a disc, is as unstinted as his chaff. About his own deeds he is nearly silent ; one in particular he mentions with irritating brevity, his rescue of the apparently doomed pom-pom from under the very noses of the stormers of Vaal Krantz, a feat the news of which flew, I well remember, all over the battlefield in a moment, and deserved to be all over the world for its desperate gallantry. If the historian will find little that is fresh in General Viljoen's reminiscences, they will show the man in the street that there

is a type of Boer—a very rare one, perhaps—little inferior to that which ranks high in his own nation. Of noticeable similes in the book, there is one of which any man who has experienced the imperfect detonation of a lyddite shell will at once recognise the fidelity; “it seemed as if a “huge cauldron of boiling fat had burst over us.” Another describing Johannesburg in the first throes of war is singularly apt, “the streets “were *palpitating* with burghers.” And of many remarks in his pages that will arrest attention one may be quoted as being the first of its kind from the Boer side, and one that gives a fair indication of the whole trend of General Viljoen’s hearty little volume—“Boer and “Briton would be better employed in attempting to find out the virtues “rather than the vices in one another’s characters.”

A very different text inspires the sermon of the Rev. J. D. Kestell. Amidst much that is no doubt the result of genuine feeling, he utters a vast deal that is intended deliberately to blow upon the fire of the passions of his race, and prevent it dying down. It is certain that many Burghers will endeavour honestly to stifle the racial hatred which has so long possessed them, but they will find it difficult to keep the flames under when they read such passages as the following:—

With what contempt did the English look down upon us. Not some of them merely, but all. The lowest soldier vented his scorn in foul language, and even the highest officer there forgot that he should be a gentleman, and did not refrain from insulting language. (P. 180.)

And what shall I say of deeds more horrible than the worst that I have related here. . . . Would that I did not need even to allude to them. . . . Our women were assaulted and ill-treated, so that after the departure of the British Flying Columns they were sometimes confined to their beds for days, and in many cases bore the marks of blows and bruises for weeks. Worse still! There were many attempts at violation, and there were cases in which violation actually took place, etc., etc. (P. 251.)

The book is sown thick with poisonous seed of this sort; there is no chapter and there are few pages in which the British soldier and officer is not cursed, now as the tormentor of pregnant women, now as a bully who did not scruple to strike defenceless prisoners. The Basutos, cries Mr. Kestell, conducted war with more ruth than the British. It is to be feared that this passionate Jeremiah is as ignorant of his country’s ancient battles which he did not see, as of those modern ones he did see:—“We were not driven off Platrand (Waggon Hill) by the “Devons,” he writes, proceeding to argue that the headlong flight of the Boers from that bloody hill was the most deliberate of retirements. Good things in the book are a character of General de Wet, “friendly “to all, intimate with none, as reticent as the Sphinx, a man whose “motto appeared to be not ‘all will come right,’ but ‘all must be *made* “‘right’”: an outburst against the National Scouts not wanting in rhetorical fire, “Renegades! What can I say?” and a conversation

between a "hands-upper" and an irreconcilable Boer woman^{at} the latter's burning farm (p. 225). But these, and a few lively accounts of engagements do little to relieve a melancholy and disheartening volume. Mr. Kestell should have remembered that for a minister the duty of healing the broken-hearted should come long before the pleasure of making a book, should utterly extinguish it if the two tasks are, as in this case, antagonistic.

Admiration and anger will fight hard for supremacy in the reader of the prince of partidas, the modern Mina's confused and partisan history, and only the anger will be new. Christian de Wet was ill-advised to write a book. His genius as a soldier needed no emphasis; his honour as a man stood so high that even his adversaries took pleasure in exempting him, a Boer of Boers, from what was ignoble in the characteristics of his nation. It is to be feared that in advertising the first he has lessened the latter quality in British eyes. He respects his new compatriots not at all as soldiers and very little as men, and does not scruple to stoop to unverity, or more often, and worse, to concealment of the truth, to inform the world of his contempt. Truly enough in his preface, perhaps with a suspicion of the obviousness of his method, he disclaims any attempt to tell the whole truth; there is scarcely an engagement in his volume in which details are not omitted because they are creditable to his enemy, and might detract from the fame of his own exploits. Describing Nicholsons Nek he makes no mention of the flank and rear fire from Surprise Hill and other detached kopjes which really forced the surrender; the paltry sangars, not twelve inches high and of small stones, which protected the British from the storm of cross fire, become in his narrative "huge boulders and many Kaffir kraals." At Sannas Post, he says, "a forest of hands went up" before his men opened fire from the Koorn Spruit, whereas, except for the unarmed sick upon the waggons, de Wet made no prisoners until the first terrific outburst of fire unhorsed and wounded, within a few yards of the Boer rifles, the great number of Roberts's Horse who were escorting the guns. After his capture of the convoy on February 16th, 1900, the deliberate abandonment of which by Lord Roberts to ensure greater issues de Wet is not a sufficiently great soldier to appreciate, 50 men of Kitchener's Horse surrendered to him, after a gallant resistance, in an isolated post. These men are described as yielding without a shot. Both at Reddersburg and at Roodeval he declares himself to have been outnumbered, whereas at both places the Boer force was the stronger; at the latter, according to despatches, by as much as six to one. At Honing Spruit he explains his failure to vanquish Colonel Bullock's three hundred ill-armed starvelings by the false statement that he was unable to bring his guns into action before the arrival of reinforcements;—the facts being that Bullock's men, just released from Pretoria, and hastily equipped with old Martini Henry Rifles, lay for six hours in the open

and kept him off under the incessant fire of three guns. Throughout his book De Wet charges us with arming the natives, making on one occasion the monstrous accusation against Colonel Baker of having employed "a band of four or five hundred Kaffirs" who attacked a detached commando and "murdered four burghers in a horrible manner" (p. 333). After this we are not surprised to hear the Cape Mounted Rifles described as "sweepings," an epithet which the general will find difficult to make palatable to that fine force, in spite of his caution, typically Boer, in disowning in his preface all responsibility for translation. Finally, such remarks as "the South African soil is stained by the blood of children slain by England" will neither endear him to his "fellow subjects of the British Empire" to whom he dedicates the volume, nor assist them to draw his countrymen "nearer and ever nearer by the strong cords of love," with which pious wish he lays down his pen.

But admiration wins in the end. This stern, lonely soldier performed his deeds far more nobly than he describes them; of him nothing need be remembered but his courage, his swiftness, his resource, his unyielding patriotism, and his anguish when these were of no avail to save his country. No State need despair with but a single son like him to strike for it; there is many a State unblessed by such a child. It is difficult for us in this broad-based Britain of ours to conceive the courage that prompts a man to dash his fists into the very face of fate when everything he holds dear is rocking to its fall, when his most trusted friends are disappearing in the night to aid in undermining the foundations; when even his successful blows, each one of them as exhausting as the struggle of a dying man, beat harmlessly upon the great impalpable mass of calamity impending over him. Even when it enwraps him, when the votes of his comrades in the meeting at Vereeniging are all going for surrender, he still lifts up the weapon of his voice and attempts with brave words to ward off the final blow. And when it had fallen, when he who had led his burghers through multitudinous perils had to face them beside a pile of surrendered Mausers, the truth of his lament would be honourable to him were there nothing else true in his book: "I have often been present at the death-bed and burial of those who have been nearest to my heart, father, mother, brother and friend, but the grief which I felt on those occasions was not to be compared with that I now underwent at the burial of my Nation!" Poor Christian de Wet! Will it comfort him to reflect that amongst the mighty ones of the earth there are few whose tombs shall bear an epitaph so proud as that which he has earned:—

Nature might stand up,
And say to all the world, "This was a man."

Of Paul Kruger's pretentious pamphlet little would be said here were it not Paul Kruger's. Volumes that contain a falsehood on every other

page and an insult on the intervening pages possess little interest except to collectors of squibs and lampoons. Pity it is that these connoisseurs of malice, in their eagerness to secure so rare a specimen, cannot absorb the whole of this and any succeeding impressions, and thus scour the world of the ramblings of a mischievous old man. The author would be welcome to the royalties; it would not be the first time that Paul also was amongst ill-won profits. The unhappy past of his country, its unhappy present—the one has been largely, the other wholly the work of Kruger's life. Has he nothing better to do with his few remaining days than to endanger and trouble his country's future also? Fortunately his attempt is briefer than it looks. Never have we been so grateful for large type, thick paper and wide margins, nor for the merciful occupation of space—to the extent of as much as four pages—space that might have been filled with Kruger, by the notes of Editor and Translator. Notes are no longer what Carlyle called them, “soot-stains,” when they contain most of the truth of the printed page they adorn. An hour apiece will suffice for the perusal of these imposing volumes, and if the reader on laying them down will sigh that Truth lies in them laid out for burial, his eye will at least brighten with admiration of the splendour of her shroud, for though it is faint praise enough, the publisher has done his work far better than Mr. Kruger.

It were a task too lengthy to notice, or even catalogue, the misstatements in this book. But they may be typified by the account of the detestable treachery of Bronkhorsts Spruit which the author “lingers over” alone of all the engagements of the 1881 campaign as affording an exceptional field for unveracity. The British, we are informed, “took up a position in a sunken road, whilst the Boers had to “charge across the open!” It is fortunate that Mr. Kruger does not share the belief of his compatriots in spooks, thus to dare the ghosts of the wretched soldiers of the 94th, shot down in time of peace as they stood in column of march, to come chattering around his pillow from the grave. The direct charge against Sir Henry Loch of not only conniving at, but suggesting the armed insurrection of Johannesburg, is less startling in its mendacity, because throughout the book Mr. Chamberlain's having done the same thing is regarded as too well known a certainty for more than casual reference. “Lies, treachery, intrigues” and secret instigations against the Government of the Republic: these “have always been the distinguishing marks of English politics, which “found their final goal in this present cruel war.” Thus and much more Mr. Kruger, calling to the thousands “for his fault amerced,” that

If then his providence
Out of our evil seek to bring forth good,
Our labour must be to pervert that end,
And out of good still to find means of evil.

It is no easy business to find something to praise in Mr. Kruger's

reserves; I believe it to be impossible to find anything to praise unreservedly, in which the work is probably unique. If the account of the Raid itself is not unfairly given, it is because no malice could accentuate its folly, nor any boasting increase the triumph it brought to Kruger. Much of the first volume dealing with the early history of the Republics, the native wars, the farcical civil-war, the annexation, is instructive, though everywhere marred by a rigid economy of the truth. It contains one striking picture, that of Paul Kruger prowling about the laager at night, listening hidden to the talk of the burghers around the camp fires that he might learn their attitude towards an unpopular decision he had given. The hunting experiences are admirable. No mightier hunter than the short, broad-chested Boer dwelt amongst a race of bold riders and deadly shots. If he had only talked sixty years later as brilliantly as he rode and shot in the thirties, the world which has now to thank him for nothing would at least have treasured his memory as an orator. His speeches, some of which are given in an appendix of a hundred pages, are most disappointing; their insincerity on the great subject was of course inevitable to his policy, but surely no man ever bent an assembly to his will with such little eloquence and inspiration as did Kruger the Volksraad. Primitive audiences are not as a rule exacting in the matter of oratory, the flood of words to bear them along unresisting need not roll from the deep springs of genuine passion so long as it foams on the surface. Mr. Kruger's discourses do neither; the Volksraad succumbed to clap-trap, and hoisted the white flag unconditionally at a volley of texts.

Little space remains for consideration of Colonel Schiel's fine volume. But little is needed; the soldier of fortune, owing to circumstances over which he had no control, saw no more of the campaign than what he calls the "aimless ride" over the frontier, and the battle of Elandslaagte, which eliminated his good-humoured person from the scene before the curtain was well up. If his account of that engagement is sketchy and unintelligible, the lack of detail is redeemed by the touching account of his long vigil, wounded and immovable, on that terrible night of cold, rain, and agony on the captured position. Only one fresh item does he contribute to the history of the fight, the defection and flight of a portion of the "Detective Corps" at the very outset. "The wretches," cried Schiel; "if we only had a gun I would fire on these *canaille* instead of on the English!" The rest of the volume relates his life on prison-ship and in camp, and is all readable if a trifle long-winded. So seldom does Schiel lose his temper in misfortune that his allegations of starvation, ill-treatment and insult on board the "Hell Mongolian" demand investigation. Of the commander of that vessel he writes: "Should he himself ever happen to be a prisoner of war, and be tormented physically and morally, let him think of the *Mongolian*, and how he treated the prisoners committed to his charge." For the rest, the book is so good that an English translation would be welcome.

The first portion of it, dealing largely with experiences in ~~Kaffir~~ wars, is full of vivid tales. A curious trait in a man of the author's occupation is his passionate love of children. It might indeed have been suspected from many little passages in his work that Schiel was something better than the common swashbuckler he has been painted, had he not so carefully painted himself. "I am a soldier," he declares; "what does it matter to me for what cause I fight so long as I do fight!"

BRITISH OFFICER.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

A FRESH turn of the political kaleidoscope reveals a series of pictures considerably different from those which we discussed a month ago. This time their general character is national rather than international. Indeed with the exception of the energetic action of Great Britain and Germany against Venezuela all the Powers of the world, great and little, are wholly absorbed by their internal affairs, and some of them seem destined to remain thus engrossed for a long time to come. Agricultural depression and Socialistic troubles in Russia, the debates on the Customs' Tariff and the decay of Parliamentarism in Germany, the clash of nationalities in Austria-Hungary, the struggle for the intermediate schools in France, the Divorce Bill in Italy, the fall of the Liberal Cabinet in Spain, the change of ministry and the announced changes in the Constitution in Servia, the fitful emission of sparks from the smouldering embers of revolution in Macedonia, constitute the main elements of the present state of Europe.

RUSSIA.

Whatever the shortcomings of our Foreign Office—and they are neither few nor inconsiderable—it cannot be denied that Lord Lansdowne has hitherto made perceptible headway in smoothing away obstacles to the establishment of cordial relations between this country and those States which until very recently regarded Great Britain as the enemy of the human race. Quite a neighbourly feeling at present prevails between England and France, and it is to be hoped that advantage will be taken of it and of M. Delcassé's continuance in office to settle once for all the outstanding differences

between the two countries in Newfoundland and in Northern Africa. France's attitude towards this country before and during the war, and the peremptory refusal of her responsible statesmen to raise at that time the question of the evacuation of Egypt, deserve handsome recognition. With Russia we are assured it is much more difficult to come to any permanent understanding. Her forgetfulness of treaties, which seem after a certain time to lose all binding force in her eyes, her restlessness on the borders of Afghanistan, her schemes in Persia and her velleities in Thibet, render her, it is asserted, an object of distrust. And appearances, it must be admitted, seem to bear out this contention. But appearances are often deceptive, and never more so than in the sphere of politics. The Government of the Tsar has, it is true, expressed a wish, a sort of *pium desiderium*, to enter into direct relations with Afghanistan; a new department of commercial marine has been created in St. Petersburg, and the Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovitch has been appointed its director; the Russian Steam Navigation Company will in all probability shortly run a line of steamers between Odessa and certain ports of the Persian Gulf, including Bushire and Bender Abbas; a ~~new~~ railway line is contemplated from Erivan to the Persian frontier, and there is talk of Russia extending by a few miles the Finnish railway so as to join it with the newly-constructed Norwegian line which now connects the Arctic Ocean with the Gulf of Bothnia, and of making a bid for the Fjord of Ofoten, the waters of which are kept from freezing by the warm Gulf Stream. But when all these facts, rumours and surmises have been duly boiled down, things political will be found to remain pretty much where they are. Not only is it doubtful whether the far-reaching and quasi-aggressive plans attributed to Russia have any firm roots in the will of her statesmen or the Tsar, but it is practically certain that, even if they had, the means of realising them are lacking.

Internal reforms, or at any rate efforts to secure such, are now the order of the day. Russia is in the throes of one of those painful crises which constitute a stage in the progress of any population, a large element of which abandons agriculture for industry. For some years past the material wellbeing of the peasantry, upon whose shoulders the burden of the empire ultimately rests, has been visibly on the wane. To give but one instance, the consumption of bread per head of the population has steadily fallen off. Some writers say that M. Witte's policy was to blame, others ascribe the depression to other Ministers or measures. Desirous of remedying this state of affairs whatever its cause, the Government called for data as to the state of the peasants and for suggestions as to means of bettering it. The machinery for obtaining this information seemed to many Russians to be the *Zemstvos* or district representatives—a sort of county Parliament well acquainted with every aspect of the question

but prone to discuss local questions from a national point of view, and thereby to give offence to the central authorities. The latter, however, passing over those useful bodies, appointed special committees, entrusted their members with very limited powers, restricted their discussions to the mere symptoms of the economic evils and then set them to work.

The first step gave great offence. For the Zemstvos consider themselves to be better qualified to speak on the distress now prevailing, on its proximate causes and on the most effective way of remedying the sufferings of the masses, than any other body in the empire. And it is certain that they are in possession of a vast amount of information on those matters which cannot be collected by any special commission. Moreover all the friends of latent Liberalism uphold the claim of the Zemstvos to represent the bulk of the population. Hence the bitterness of the protests which the action of the authorities provoked. Some of these are symptomatic. Thus the Marshal of the Nobility of Moscow, acting on his own initiative, called together a conference of members of the Zemstvo from various districts, who proceeded to discuss in secret the situation and the results of their own exclusion from the Great Commission. The resolutions they passed included a request for the abolition of all privileges of the classes and of corporal punishment for peasants; for the restitution to the Zemstvos of their former powers and of full liberty for discussing social problems. Another Marshal of the Nobility, Stakhovitch, addressed a very sharp letter to the Minister of the Interior, Plehve, while Count Heyden, the President of the Economical Society, indited a still more vehement epistle to the same official.

The names of the Finance Minister, Witte, and of the Minister of the Interior, Plehve, have been mentioned as the respective protectors of the parties for and against the Zemstvos, but considering the campaign in and out of Russia which is now being carried on against the former personage, and the wild rumours current concerning his alleged conflict with the latter, the utmost caution is necessary before any such reports can be accepted as facts.

It seems to have been established that indirect taxation has gone up in Russia—some writers say by 110 per cent.—during the past nineteen years, owing mainly to the increase of customs duties. It should be remembered, however, on the one hand, that not all the articles thus taxed are necessities of life, and on the other, that the population has increased very considerably during the period passed in review. But what will especially surprise most readers in this connection is the statement—which, although advanced by a writer who has studied the subject, I am not quite prepared to vouch for—that less than twenty-five per cent. of this indirect taxation has found its way into the chests of the Treasury. This assertion, if true, would go far to show, among other things, that the Government can still tap rich

sources of revenue not only without increasing the peasants' burden but while actually lightening it. The prophecies advanced by certain influential Press organs to the effect that the bankruptcy and ruin of Russia is impending must therefore, despite the figures set forth, be dismissed as exaggerations. Those figures undoubtedly look bad, but figures alone can, like potters' clay, be fashioned in any way. Things seemed at least as bad fifteen years ago when similar forecasts were made with equal confidence, yet Russia has managed to pay her way and to live up to her reputation of being the one Great Power who never curtails the interest on her debt.

The workmen's troubles which broke out on the Don, almost immediately after the peasants' revolt in Little Russia had been quelled, are doubtless serious enough as a symptom, but their actual import has been greatly exaggerated abroad. A widespread rising in Russia is an impossibility, and local troubles are certain to be speedily put down as those on the Don have been. The immediate upshot of these outbreaks, therefore, is almost nil. They are interesting to foreigners because they reveal the growth of a new spirit among the working classes, of that spirit which Maxim Gorky has so graphically described in his realistic short stories. But the Government, keenly aware of the change, has already met the working men halfway. The latter have recently assembled together in St. Petersburg to discuss their grievances under the ægis of the Central Government—an unparalleled proceeding in the Empire of the Tsar. Nor is this all: the Minister of the Interior promised to do his utmost to further their interests and secure their just demands. As he evidently meant what he said, his promise foreshadows a further experiment in state socialism on a grand scale. A move of this kind will greatly interest but cannot surprise those who have watched the trend of Russian domestic affairs for the past fifteen years. Indeed it would perfectly dovetail with the policy consistently followed during all that time. For at present the State is the largest employer of labour in the Empire, and can well afford to draw the extreme practical consequences from this fact, remedying the grievances of the employed and setting a praiseworthy example to private employers. The manner in which the Government has lately dealt with the actual disturbances as well as with the oral complaints of the working men—now organised as they never were before—is a proof that the Minister deems himself to be master of the situation, and that there is nothing as yet alarming in the internal condition of the country. Indeed if Russia has any mission to perform, as so many of her politicians and statesmen hold, one of the conditions of carrying it out is and must be such a continuous disturbance of equilibrium as will stimulate her people to ever-changing activity, and afford them an opportunity of displaying their latent forces and inborn talents.

THE GERMAN TARIFF BILL AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

The German Tariff Bill has been hurried through the Reichstag by exceptional measures which have called forth vehement protests from the Opposition and its supporters throughout the country, but are devoid of international significance. The order of procedure having been radically changed for the purpose, the second and third readings took place as matters of course. In plain words, and from an outsider's standpoint, the situation thus created may be summarised as follows: The Government needs a majority in Parliament, and as the only working majority must be formed of the Catholic Centre, the National Liberals and the Conservatives, it follows that Ministers must pay for the support of all these parties by suitable concessions. And that is precisely what is happening. The Catholic Centre having already received a portion of its share of the good things—for instance, the opening of a Roman Catholic Theological Faculty at the University of Strasburg—the Agrarians now insist on having their interests consulted. Corn therefore will be taxed higher than before, despite the conviction of some members of the Government that a reduction rather than an increase of the duties would be opportune and beneficial from an economic point of view. The Agrarians cling to the belief that the most efficacious help that can be given to agriculture lies in levying a higher duty on foreign—i.e., mainly Russian—cereals and whether this view be right or wrong the Chancellor feels bound to act upon it. The kernel of the matter, therefore, is thus far purely parliamentary.

But other considerations come into play the moment the German Government opens negotiations for the conclusion of commercial treaties with foreign States, for German industry must be furthered as well as German agriculture. Now Russia offers one of the best markets for German manufactures. The Russian peasant, however, will be the chief sufferer by the operation of the new tariff law, which by shutting out much of his corn will deprive him of a considerable portion of his slender income. Under these circumstances the Russian Finance Minister, especially after the warnings to the German Government to which he has given utterance in the official organ of his department, can hardly be expected to continue to grant unconditionally to German industry the privileges it has hitherto enjoyed, seeing that those which are accorded by Germany to the Russian corn-growers will have been withdrawn. If none the less, however, he agrees to a commercial treaty, it can only be for some other fair *quid pro quo*, and the sole compensation to which he can look forward when the German corn market is partly closed is the opening of the German money market and facilities for the floating of a fresh loan. If therefore Germany and Russia steer clear of a tariff war, agree to a *modus vivendi* and embody it in a commercial treaty, this fact alone may be taken by the outside public as a conclusive proof that all the

rumours circulated on the Continent about the impending financial ruin of Muscovy are mischievous inventions circulated for a temporary purpose.

ITALY.

The application of the New Tariff Bill, should it pass in its present form, would probably react indirectly but very detrimentally upon Italy as well as Russia and contribute further to loosen the bonds which are still supposed to link the Peninsula with the Central European States. The Commercial Conventions now in force among the three allies will be dissolved as a matter of course; and for Italy that is a serious loss. By virtue of the commercial treaty now in operation between Italy and Austria-Hungary, Italian wines can be imported into the dual monarchy at comparatively low tariff rates. This clause, always unpopular in Tyrol, was an abomination to Hungarian wine-growers, who vainly endeavoured to neutralise its effects. At present they have an excellent opportunity for getting rid of it root and branch. Down to a few weeks ago it seemed certain that the treaty would run on for another year and could not be denounced before the 31st December, 1903. The Hungarians, however, have since then found out that the term begins a twelvemonth sooner, the stipulations on this point not being identical with those of the Austro-German Treaty. And as the denunciation must take place at the end of the year, it will in all probability be accomplished by the time these pages see the light. No future treaty between Italy and Austria-Hungary will contain the wine clause which formed such a vital portion of the convention that has heretofore existed between the two States. Light Italian wines which compete with the juice of the Hungarian grape will henceforward be handicapped by high tariff duties, and Italy is certain to retort by levying countervailing duties on Hungarian horses and Dalmatian timber. In this way the sole remaining bond which for a number of years kept the two so disparate peoples together, imparting to their relations the appearance of friendship, will have been definitely severed in twain. The impending conflict of interests in Macedonia will quickly do the rest.

Meanwhile Italy's relations with Russia grow more cordial in inverse ratio as they become less friendly with the central European Powers. The next visible and outward sign of this political friendship is the projected visit of the Tsar and Tsaritsa to the King of Italy in Rome which is announced to take place next spring. The police of both countries are already busy with their preparations for insuring the safety of the Imperial guests, and five battalions of foot-soldiers will guard the railway line between Civita Vecchia and the Eternal City. Despite the efforts made to discount the political significance of this international event, it is impossible to blink the fact that for good or for evil the two great groups of Powers which have hitherto

constituted the Triple and the Dual Alliances are rapidly giving way to other combinations, without any detriment to Europe or the world.

For the moment, however, the Italian people are fully absorbed by domestic problems, foremost among which is the Divorce Bill now before the Parliament. Italian Liberalism, despite the denunciations of the Vatican, is in reality only skin deep. Divorce has hitherto been regarded as the Rubicon from crossing which the most Liberal politicians have shrunk back at the critical moment. Thus twenty-one years ago a Bill on the subject was laid before Parliament by the then Minister of Justice, Villa, but it never got beyond the preliminary Committee stage. Two years later Villa's successor, Zanardelli, made another attempt to legalise divorce and with a like result. The same statesman is at present Prime Minister, and disposes of a powerful majority, but despite these seemingly favourable conditions it is unlikely that his Bill will find a place in the Statute book, owing to the opposition of the clergy and of Italian women, headed by the very highest in the Peninsula, who having been assured that divorce means the ruin of the family, are leaving no stone unturned to thwart the endeavours of the Premier. The influence of the provincial clergy—a body far more liberal-minded in politics than is usually supposed—is paramount in parliamentary elections, and candidates bent on obtaining mandates for Monte Citorio cannot afford to run counter to the current which they set flowing. And in this matter of modifying the marriage law the clergy have given such unmistakable signs of their determination to defeat the measure that at the elections of members of the Committee five out of the nine Parliamentary sections proved adverse to the Bill. It does not of course follow from this that it will be also thrown out in the full Chamber. But even if it passes the Lower House, the chances are extremely slender that the Senate will vote with the Premier, who no longer seems to take the matter very much to heart.

SPAIN.

My predictions respecting the fall of the Liberal Spanish Cabinet and the formation of a Conservative Government under Senor Silvela have been realised to the letter. In the October number of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW I wrote of Sagasta and the Liberals: "They will be compelled in a few months, possibly in a few weeks, to make way for the Conservatives, who at least entertain firm convictions, stand or fall by principles, and honestly seek to carry out their programme."* Since then the old parliamentary hand, Don Praxedes Sagasta has succeeded with extraordinary ingenuity in staving off the day of reckoning, though it must be admitted that the Conservative leader cheerfully refrained from placing obstacles in his way, being himself in no hurry

* *Contemporary Review*, October, 1902.

to enter upon the succession, seeing that it brings with it three ~~thorny~~ problems, which call for a speedy and definite solution: the Catalonian demands for Home Rule, the regulation of the finances which have been persistently neglected by the Liberals to the serious detriment of trade and commerce, and the relations between the Monarchy and the Vatican, to say nothing of the question of Morocco and the entrance of Spain into the political current of Europe. But nothing could save Señor Sagasta, not even the listlessness of his opponents. For the country was going to wrack and ruin under the régime of a party which made no pretence of carrying out any programme, and on the 5th December the Liberal leader, now in his 76th year, resigned, probably for the last time, a post which he has occupied nine or ten times in his career without having once linked his name with the introduction of any generous measure or the removal of any crying abuse. Among the many far-reaching blunders for which history will make Sagasta responsible is the war with the United States, which is said to have cost his country over 100,000 soldiers, nearly the whole navy, £1,000,000,000 and the remains of Spain's colonial possessions. Deserted by many of his friends who were intent on passing at least some Liberal measures, broken down in health and attacked by the Press, he has left his party disorganised and his country in the throes of a crisis to help it out of which will tax the resourcefulness of the Conservative leader and his well chosen colleagues.

The new Cabinet is composed of the most capable men of various parties who set the interests of their country above those of any political section. One of the most striking persons among them is the Home Secretary, Maura, a man of iron will and generous ideas, a Liberal at heart. Had his advice been followed by Sagasta, the Spanish flag would be waving over Cuba and the Philippines to-day. He is also the statesman who in one of his speeches declared that a revolution from above is absolutely necessary in order to hinder a revolution from below. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Aberzuza, who was educated in England, was originally a Republican and a warm friend of Castelar, and represented the Spanish Republic in Paris nearly thirty years ago. The Minister of Finances, Villaverde, whose duties are perhaps the most arduous of all under the present conditions, is admitted even by his political opponents to be the one man fitted for that unenviable post. Over three years ago he set about cleansing the Augean stable of Spanish finance, and had almost cleared the ground when his party was turned out of office. The Stock Exchange has welcomed his accession to power. He has already undertaken to balance the Budget with a surplus and at the same time to provide for the outlay which the rebuilding of the fleet—a measure unanimously decided upon—will entail. But he has wisely resolved to provide the surplus before spending it. Meanwhile the Cortes have been prorogued and the new elections take place in April. Señor Silvela has accepted office on purely patriotic

grounds and is said to have declared that if he fail to carry out his programme he will definitely withdraw from public life.

THE BALKAN PENINSULA.

In Servia a change of Government has not unexpectedly taken place, and certain modifications of the Constitution are officially asserted to form part of the new programme. As matters of domestic policy, incidents of this kind would possess but little interest for the rest of Europe. But the geographical position of the little kingdom, its political dependence upon Russia, and its economical nexus with Austria-Hungary are such as invest even such incidents as these with the significance of far-reaching political events. The number of people who speak the Servian tongue in eastern Europe is very much greater than the total population of the realm governed by King Alexander, and the question of the succession to the throne is one which should it ever become acute will resolve itself into a discussion if not a dispute between the two Great Powers. For those and other reasons therefore the fall of the Cabinet and the developments which will follow are certain to be watched with growing interest by all those who are interested in the maintenance of the peace of Europe. The bulk of the Servian people are Radical and friendly to Russia—the protectress of all Orthodox Slavs. Another and smaller section would, like the late King Milan, seek State-salvation by leaning for support upon Austria-Hungary. A year and a half ago the Radicals and the Progressives coalesced by order of the King, and agreed to form a Coalition Cabinet and carry out the new Constitution promulgated by Alexander on the 20th April, 1901. Although a number of the extreme Radicals withheld their support from the new Government, it received such a large majority—108 as against 24—at the elections that many years of power were prophesied for Dr. Vuitch, the leader of the combined parties. And the Government succeeded in coupling its name with a number of Liberal and enlightened measures, foremost among which was a law raising the status of judges and enabling them to administer justice without fear of consequences. Owing however to a number of various causes—the weakness of the Prime Minister among others—the party wasted gradually away, and finally the King entrusted General Zinzar-Markovitch with the formation of a “Business” Government. The new Premier has issued a brief outline of his programme in which he announces that he and his colleagues will “adopt measures for effecting “on legal lines the needful revision of the Constitution.” Seeing that the present Constitution, which is by no means the first promulgated by the present King, has had but a trial of eighteen months, that the Crown vetoed the Liberal law voted by the Skuptshina on the right of holding public meetings, and that the present head of the Cabinet is a soldier and a man in whom the monarch has unbounded confidence, fears are entertained lest the power of the King be unduly strengthened and the

liberties of his subjects considerably curtailed. The one thing which seems at present clear is that the law dealing with the succession will not be tampered with, but beyond that all is surmise and doubt.

From the international point of view Serbia, like Mohammed's coffin, suspended between heaven and earth, is equidistant from the two Powers with one of which it is her fate to be in close relations. The more powerful and the more popular of the two is Russia. In her gift are most of the territorial prizes for which every Balkan State—including Montenegro—is hungering. And the distribution day seems close at hand. But in ordinary times Russia is far off, and a near neighbour is sometimes better than a distant relation. The near neighbour is Austria-Hungary, and the means by which she can put pressure upon the little kingdom are many and effective—mainly economic. King Milan resolutely threw in his lot with his powerful neighbour, and he was accordingly treated as a reprobate by the "little brother" in the north. King Alexander has sought—especially since his marriage—to exchange the friendship of Codlin for Short, but the result of his overtures proved unsatisfactory. He then made a half-hearted attempt to strike up a friendship with the Habsburg Monarchy, but as he hesitated to burn his Russian boats, failure overtook him here as well. Serbia has consequently fallen between two stools. And to complicate matters still more the popularity of the young monarch is a thing of the past, and he has no direct heir, and the two pretenders who are waiting for the psychological hour to strike are patient, prudent, and enterprising withal. The significance for good or for evil of the present change of Government will largely depend on the modifications which they are determined to make in the Constitution, and on the attitude of the freedom-loving people. After all it may be useful to have a soldier at the head of the Cabinet next Spring when, if the present forecast prove correct, Macedonia will be up in arms against the Sultan.

TURKEY AND MACEDONIA.

Owing mainly to the official warning recently published by Russia, the Porte has at last promised to turn over a new leaf and carry out a series of reforms in Macedonia, and the Powers are minded to watch and wait for results. The primary aim of the reforms insisted upon by the Powers is to quiet the inhabitants of Macedonia by enabling them to follow their avocations in peace. But the measures outlined by the Porte cannot be expected to attain that end. For instance, nothing has been suggested by way of reforming the methods of collecting the tithes; yet this process in its present form is little short of legalised plunder, sometimes varied by violence and murder. Again, one of the chronic causes of disturbance is the circumstance that the Turkish employes being left unpaid by the State have to quarter themselves on the people. For

the last six months, for instance, soldiers, officers, and civil servants have received no pay at all. Until provision is made for those public servants no degree of good-will can uproot the evil. Further, whereas the Powers demanded that the Valis or Governors of Monastir, Uoskub, and Salonica should be chosen from among the Christians, the Porte proposes merely to appoint some Christian advisers to the council of the Valis. At present trade and commerce are at a standstill throughout Macedonia; crimes against life and property are rife. Bands of insurgents are strolling about the country; the Turkish reserves which were called up but last October have not yet been disbanded, and the entire population is looking forward with hope or fear to the events which are expected next Spring. An insurrection, if the insurgents be left to themselves, would inevitably end in a mass massacre. For there are about five Turks to every three Christians, and the former are incomparably better armed than the latter, to say nothing of the hardy, fearless and cruel Turkish troops. The only hope of the non-Turkish elements lies in the presumed readiness of Bulgaria and Servia to interfere and take their part. That done, history would repeat itself and the Ottoman Empire would become smaller by a potentially rich province and a brave though wild people. It is for this contingency that the little Balkan States are at present eagerly preparing, and it was with the object of hindering it if possible that Count Lamsdorff has been sent to Vienna. In all probability the advent of Spring will find the problem ripe for solution.

GREECE.

Curiously enough the man who was at the head of affairs in Greece when the war with Turkey was declared—a politician regarded by many as a kind of stormy petrel—has once more come with flying colours to the front. M. Delyannis, having just scored a brilliant victory at the elections has now taken over the reins of Government once more, and his popularity is perhaps as great as it was before the military reverses which compelled him to yield his place to M. Ralli. In former times his domestic policy was generally sound and, so far as is possible in a Democratic country like Greece, thrifty. But he never possessed a clue to guide him through the mazy windings of foreign affairs in which, on critical occasions, he invariably lost his way. Whether he will justify the hopes which his countrymen now repose in him it is impossible to say, but his colleagues are on the whole men of mark in the country. The Foreign Secretary, M. Skouzes, occupied the same post on the outbreak of the war, and the present War Minister, Colonel Limbritis, was the enterprising adjutant of Vassos who commanded the Greek troops in Crete.

VENEZUELA.

By far the most important event of the month is the joint and energetic action of Great Britain and Germany against the little Republic of

Venezuela, for the purpose of enforcing the payment of debts and punishing that State for the impunity accorded to those who unjustifiably interfered with the property and the liberty of German and British subjects.

For the action of the Kaiser's Government, which had been discussed over and over again in the German Press, everyone was quite prepared. But the intention of the British Foreign Office to resort to drastic methods was very successfully concealed and came as a great surprise. It is now no longer a secret that the resolution of our Foreign Office was taken at the suggestion of the German Government. That certain section of the United States Press and more or less prominent members of both Houses in Washington would sharply criticise this joint action, ascribe it to wrong motives and do their utmost to neutralise the results, were presumably among the contingencies foreseen and provided for by our Foreign Office. It is all the more to be regretted therefore that the German Press has, in discussing the larger issues which may eventually be involved, occasionally wandered beyond the bounds of common prudence. Consequently one cannot wonder at the nervousness of American politicians when one reads such comments as this: "The recognition of the Monroe Doctrine pure and simple is a concession far too valuable for us to give officially in return for some millions which our financial institutions and our merchants have a right to demand of Venezuela."*

But whatever reserves Germany may make on this matter, the immediate aim of the two Governments—with whom Italy is now acting in concert—is to collect their subjects' debts and to deter the Venezuelan authorities from infringing the rights of British and German residents in the future. Both those objects are difficult if not hopeless, and none of the means of attaining them heretofore proposed can be said to be efficacious. Certainly the seizure of the customs would not suffice: because President Castro could establish a cordon just outside the occupied custom houses and levy duties as before. And to hinder this it would be necessary not merely to declare war, but really to levy it. Besides, the importers of foreign merchandise are almost all foreigners, and they would of course then cease to bring manufactures into the country, whereupon the possession of the custom houses would become worthless. Further, a blockade without a declaration of war is an absurdity, and would probably not be recognised by the United States. On the other hand, a declaration of war by three Great Powers against a miniature State has the appearance of a monstrosity, and might well provoke the intervention of the Great Republic were it only on commercial grounds, for President Castro would then possess a plausible pretext for expelling all foreigners. It is of course possible to reduce by hunger the Venezuelans—who however ought not to be too lightly confounded with their Government, against which many of them are

* *Berliner Tageblatt*, 17th December, 1902.

actually in rebellion. But a blockade, even though effective, will never accomplish the feat, because supplies can still be imported through Colombia. Moreover, the bombardment of any place in Venezuela and the sinking of ships, however worthless in themselves, are hardly conceivable as legitimate actions without a foregoing declaration of war. And in any case they are calculated to estrange the sympathies of the English speaking people of America from those of Great Britain. In plain words, the game seems hardly worth the candle. Arbitration, especially if the United States could be induced to guarantee the carrying out of the award, would, in the opinion of those whose insight is unclouded by emotion or interest, offer the most efficacious solution of a problem which should never have been allowed to become so acute. On the ethical propriety and political expediency of the action of our Government, however, it would hardly be fair to offer any opinion as yet. The data of which we dispose touch only upon the later stages of the question and are wholly insufficient as a basis for a definite judgment.

E. J. DILLON.

SOME RECENT BOOKS.

IT is not a cheerful picture that Mr. Rider Haggard presents in his two volumes published under the attractive title of "Rural England" (Longmans, Green, and Co.). The land rapidly going out of cultivation, the landlord impoverished or on the verge of ruin, the tenant farmer either insolvent or just holding his own, and the labourer abandoning the country for the town—these are the melancholy features which stand out in the author's account of his systematic investigation into the condition of agricultural England during the years 1901 and 1902. He is no irresponsible alarmist; he gives chapter and verse for every statement he makes, and no Englishman who loves his country can close these volumes without a sense of depression almost amounting to despair. It is impossible to do justice within my limits to a book at once so interesting and so packed with information. I can only give the reader a few details illustrative of Mr. Haggard's method and conclusions. The work embraces twenty-seven English counties, with the addition of Jersey and Guernsey, each of which the author has visited and closely inspected, interviewing all sorts and conditions of persons, from landowner to labourer, and recording the substance of what each man said, always from notes taken in his presence, and, unless requested to omit it, under his own name. Such evidence is in the main incontestable, and, supplemented by Mr. Haggard's own comments as a practical farmer of wide experience at home and abroad, forms a record the value of which cannot easily be overrated.

Turning first to the depreciation in the purchase and rental value of land, Mr. Haggard instances a farm in Wiltshire covering 700 acres, which may be taken as a fair specimen of those in the neighbourhood. In 1812 it was sold for £27,000; in 1892 for £7,000—a drop of £20,000 in eighty years. When the present tenant hired it twenty-seven years ago, he paid £600 a year in rent, and £196 a year tithe. In 1901 he paid £250 a year rent, and the landlord pays the tithe. "But," said the farmer, "I made more money when I paid £800 a year than now when I pay £250." Taking two other farms in the same county, 960

acres let in 1882 for £800, in 1901 for £490; 390 acres let in the same years for £250 and £120 respectively. In Dorsetshire 396 acres of hill arable land let in 1862 for £450, in 1901 for £240; 180 acres of grass land in 1878 for £352 (plus £46 tithe, paid by tenant), in 1901 for £262, tithe paid by landlord. These are typical examples of the figures cited by Mr. Haggard throughout each county. As to the condition of the tenant farmer, the testimony is universal. Except in some cases of very large holdings under the best landlords, with advantages of railway communication in proximity to towns and the command of plenty of capital, his position is deplorable. He is at best only just able to pay his rent and get a bare living, with little or no interest on his capital outlay. But the most pressing question of all is the exodus to the towns of all that is best in rural life. In every part of the country there is the same complaint of the scarcity of labour. The young men and girls are migrating to the towns, leaving only the old men and wastrels behind, from whom the next generation of our peasantry will spring. The causes to which the author ascribes this depletion of the rural population may be briefly stated as follows: (1) The lowness of wages as compared with what labour can command, or is supposed to command, in the towns; (2) the indifferent and, in many counties, wholly insufficient supply of suitable cottages; (3) the glamour of town life, with its amusements and excitements, causing general restlessness among the young of both sexes; (4) the dislike of hard manual work, and especially a growing distaste for work of any kind, however necessary, on Sunday; (5) the smattering of education, insufficient for permanent future use, but sufficient to create dissatisfaction; (6) the absence or infrequency of good technical and agricultural teaching. Strangely enough, a comparison of town wages and agricultural wages, having regard to the lower rent and cost of living in the country, is not altogether, if at all, in favour of the former. Be this as it may, one thing is clearly demonstrated in these volumes—that the agricultural labour question is now acute, and gives but little promise of amelioration. Nor is it a question merely affecting the owners and occupiers of land. It is of vital import to the present and future well-being of the nation, and unless means are found, and found quickly, of keeping the people on the land, must end in greater or less disaster.

In a very interesting and impressive chapter Mr. Haggard sums up the conclusions to which his inquiries have led him. "The impression," he says, "left upon my mind by my extensive wanderings is that English agriculture seems to be fighting against the mills of God." Many forces combine to threaten it with ruin, but the greatest of these is unchecked foreign competition, fostered as it is by the preferential rates granted by the railway companies to imported produce. I can merely touch upon the remedies suggested. Protection is considered, but dismissed as impracticable—"an attempt to drag it forth would result in something very like a civil war." With regard to the rural exodus,

the advantages of small, or farm cottage, holdings as an inducement to the labourer to remain are insisted upon, but under certain well-defined conditions to be created by an extension of the Housing of the Working Classes Act of 1890, and financed by a system of co-operative Credit Banks established and controlled by the Board of Agriculture. The present system of rural education is condemned as a town system, tending to turn people to the towns. Mr. Haggard suggests that the school children should be allowed, as in various Continental countries and in some of the Australasian Colonies, to work on the land in summer and kept to their books in winter. Turning from proposals more immediately concerned with keeping the labourer on the land, Mr. Haggard advocates, in the interests of agriculture at large, the equalisation of the incidence of rates in the case of real and personal property; the abolition of Copyholds and the cheapening of land transfer; the multiplication of light railways; the branding of foreign meat; the promotion of co-operative associations; the strengthening of the powers of the Board of Agriculture to inaugurate as well as sympathise with remedial measures; and, finally, the establishment of an "Agricultural Post," to be worked as a branch of the present Post Office, and upon the lines of the existing Parcels Post. This Mr. Haggard regards as "by far the greatest and most far-reaching" of the remedies he proposes; and he has elaborated a scheme by which the experiment, if successful, might be extended so as to deal with goods in bulk by means of traction-trains. Whether such a scheme is practicable is not for me to decide. But, anticipating the strongest objection—the initial cost of inauguration and maintenance—Mr. Haggard pertinently says: "When millions are so easily forthcoming for enterprises of the character of the Uganda Railway, which is not likely to prove a remunerative investment, it is hard that help should be withheld from such home schemes as I have suggested on the ground that, commercially, they might not pay."

I fear that this necessarily bald and imperfect summary of Mr. Haggard's main proposals may give readers the impression that "Rural England" is a "dry" book. On the contrary, it cannot fail to be of fascinating interest to everybody whose heart is in the country. It is an "open-air book" in the truest sense of the term, written with a personal charm and a whole-hearted love of the soil, of growing things, of country sights and sounds, that, despite its ballast of facts and figures, carries it into the domain of literature. As a faithful and, within its limits, complete picture of rural England at the close of the nineteenth century I think it will live for many generations to come.

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Messrs. Duckworth and Co. have published two new volumes of essays by Sir Leslie Stephen, forming Vols. III. and IV. of the author's "Studies of a Biographer." The papers here collected, fifteen in

number, are reprinted from articles which appeared in the *National Review*, the *Quarterly*, and other periodicals, and were well worth preserving in this permanent form. As a critic Sir Leslie Stephen possesses qualities of his own which give his writings a distinct flavour, very delightful to the discriminating reader. Even in dealing with such well-worn subjects as "John Ruskin," "Thomas Henry Huxley," "Shakespeare as a Man," and "Milton," his treatment is fresh and suggestive. With a breadth and depth of reading such as few critics can command, he carries his scholarship as a man of the world, never falling into pedantry, and never forgetting the wholesome truth that books were made for men, not men for books. The least dogmatic of writers, divergence of opinion is a sure passport to his interest; he examines with unruffled urbanity, and emphasises his own point of view with a playful irony that is far more destructive to opposing theories than the table-thumping methods of less courteous debaters. There are, of course, the defects of these qualities—one could wish for little more enthusiasm in Sir Leslie's treatment of one's own especial favourites. But criticisms are many, and when we are in the mood for perfunctory eulogy with a little less sanity, we know where to turn.

In the present volumes Sir Leslie Stephen touches on a wider variety of subjects than considerations of space allow me to deal with. I can but indicate and recommend. Among the essays that have given me most pleasure are those on "The Browning Letters," "James Anthony Froude," "Robert Louis Stevenson," "The Cosmopolitan Spirit in Letters," "Anthony Trollope," and a delightful chapter "In Praise of Walking," which will appeal irresistibly to all who combine the love of books with the joys of the open road. In Sir Leslie, so he tells us, "the author is but the accidental appendage to the tramp." "If I turn over the intellectual album which memory is always compiling, I find that the most distinct pictures which it contains are those of old walks. . . . The labour of scribbling books happily leaves no distinct impression, and I would forget that it had ever been undergone; but the picture of some delightful ramble includes incidentally a reference to the nightmare of literary toil from which it relieved me." And he recalls pleasant memories of bygone walks, among them one memorable tour along the coast from the mouth of the Bristol Avon by the Land's End to the Isle of Wight. Incidentally, he subpœnas the great literary walkers of the past in his support, from Shakespeare, who doubtless conscientiously observed his own maxim, "Jog on, jog on, the footpath way," to Carlyle, whose walk with Irving from Glasgow to Drumclog is so vividly described in the *Reminiscences*. The literary movement at the end of the eighteenth century was due in no small measure to the habit of walking:

Wordsworth's poetical autobiography shows how every stage in his early mental development was connected with some walk in the Lakes. The sunrise which startled him on a walk after a night spent

in dancing first set him apart as a "dedicated spirit." His walking tour in the Alps—then a novel performance—roused him to his first considerable poem. His chief performance is the record of an excursion on foot. He kept up the practice, and De Quincey calculates somewhere what multiple of the earth's circumference he had measured on his legs, assuming, it appears, that he averaged ten miles a day. De Quincey himself, we are told, slight and fragile as he was, was a good walker, and would run up a hill "like a squirrel." Opium eating is not congenial to walking, yet even Coleridge, after beginning the habit, speaks of walking forty miles a day in Scotland, and, as we all know, the great manifesto of the new school of poetry, the Lyrical Ballads, was suggested by the famous walk with Wordsworth, when the first stanzas of the *Ancient Mariner* were composed.

Altogether this is a delightful essay, worthy to rank with the best that has been written on the subject.

Sir Leslie's study of Robert Louis Stevenson is an admirable example of the critic's finely balanced methods. While fully recognising Stevenson's literary genius, his wonderful command of style and technique, Sir Leslie deals out some severely sifted praise which will not be palatable to worshippers at the shrine, but is none the less likely to accord with the ultimate verdict. Personally, I think it is as an essayist and as the poet of simple childhood that Stevenson will live longest—by *Virginibus Puerisque*, and *Men and Books*, and the *Child's Garden of Verse*, rather than by his romances. His most ardent admirers must admit with Sir Leslie that "there is a whole range of sentiment familiar to other writers which Stevenson rarely enters or even touches." He had absolutely no insight into the nature of women, and knowing his weakness in this respect rarely attempted to portray a feminine character. For this self-criticism and restraint we must be thankful, but it certainly subtracts very considerably from his pretensions to rank with the great novelists. The secret of Stevenson's exalted position in literature during the later years of his life is, I think, to be found in his own personal charm. He had the good fortune to number some of the leading critics among his personal friends, and under the spell of his individuality they lifted him to a pinnacle of fame which has already become a little shaky, and is scarcely likely to be upheld by posterity.

* * * *

Turning from Sir Leslie Stephen to a very different school of criticism, I have been reading a volume of papers by Mr. G. K. Chesterton, collected from *The Daily News* and *The Speaker* under the title of "Twelve Types" (A. L. Humphreys). It is like passing from the calm of an October day into the buffeting of a boisterous morning in March when hats are flying and chimneypots threaten danger to the wayfarer below. Mr. Chesterton is, without doubt, one of the most brilliant and stimulating of our young critics. His fertility of ideas, his power of

looking at familiar objects from a new point of view, his sheer cleverness, are amazing. But I do not see how he can ever become a really great force in criticism until he restrains his love of paradox within reasonable limits, and ceases to regard infallibility as his birth-right. At present, too, there is a rush and hurry about his work which obscures his sterling qualities; he gives the reader no breathing spaces, no passages of calm reflection. His opinions are presented, not *as* opinions, but as incontrovertible truths concerning which there can be no manner of doubt whatever. This is the more irritating in one who habitually thinks and writes in paradox; for the fruits of paradox require careful examination before they can be accepted as sound. In the present volume Mr. Chesterton takes "twelve types"—Charlotte Brontë, William Morris, Byron, Pope, St. Francis, Rostand, Charles II., Stevenson, Thomas Carlyle, Tolstoy, Savonarola, and Sir Walter Scott—and, giving an average of fourteen well-spaced pages to each, "sizes" them up, so to speak, as if it had never been done before and would never be done again. There is a famous living surgeon who, in the days when he used to lecture to hospital students, was wont to clinch each section of his discourse with the formula, "Well, that's all about *that!*" One can imagine Mr. Chesterton uttering a similar sentiment as he dashes off the final sentence of each of these papers. I do not wish to convey the impression that "Twelve Types" is in any way a negligible book. Far from it. There is not one of these papers that will not repay the reading. Mr. Chesterton has a definite message to deliver—a gospel, as I understand it, of ultra-romanticism. But in these degenerate days when, as Mr. George Russell has lately lamented, nobody seems "cocksure" about anything, oracular teaching will only succeed in irritating where a more balanced exposition might influence.

* * * *

In the first volume of Professor George Saintsbury's "History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe," published just two years ago by Messrs. Blackwood and Sons, the author ploughed his way through the sands of classical and mediæval criticism with an unflinching courage and a conscientious devotion to the task he had undertaken that won the praise of even the most carping critics. There were, it is true, oases in the desert—Aristotle, Longinus, Dante, among others, afforded pleasant resting places, without which the traveller might never have returned. But they only emphasised the aridity of the vast wastes surrounding them. In the second volume, now issued, Mr. Saintsbury reaches the more fertile plains of the Renaissance, and extends his survey through some three centuries to the decline of eighteenth century orthodoxy. If the thing was to be done at all, it could scarcely have been done better. Mr. Saintsbury is one of the few living men of letters who could have got through the immense amount of repellent

reading matter involved without breaking down, in literary sanity if not in physical health. Most would have abandoned the undertaking half-way through the first volume, or, persevering with dulled brain, produced a hopelessly chaotic medley without shape or form. When one considers the difficulties overcome, and examines the orderly and reasoned arrangement of the work, criticism of details gives place to praise of the general achievement. Indeed, from a mere sciolist like the present writer, who is always dissipating in "recent books," detailed criticism of this monumental work might savour of presumption.

The second volume is naturally of far greater general interest than the first, the English critics being well represented in the chapters on "Elizabethan Criticism," "Dryden and his Contemporaries," and "From Addison to Johnson." Mr. Saintsbury defends what may seem to some the disproportionately large space given to his own country by boldly stating his opinion that the superiority of French and German criticism is "a fond thing vainly invented." It was Matthew Arnold who set the fashion of speaking of English critics as vastly inferior to those of France and Germany. Mr. Saintsbury will have none of it:

It is not true that, with the doubtful exception of Sainte-Beuve, foreign countries have had any critics greater than our own, while they have, even put together, hardly so many great ones. In everything but mere superficial consistency Dryden is a head and shoulders above Boileau as a critic. Coleridge a head, shoulders and body above the Schlegels, whom he followed. Long before Sainte-Beuve, Hazlitt had shown a genius for real criticism, as distinguished from barren formula-making, which no critic has surpassed. And Mr. Arnold himself, with less range, equity, and sureness than Sainte-Beuve, has a finer literary taste and touch. As for that *general* superiority of French criticism of which we have heard so much, the unerring voice of actual history will tell us that it never existed at all, except, perhaps, for a generation before 1660, and a generation before 1860, the latter being the period which called forth, but misled, Mr. Arnold's admiration. With this last period we do not deal here; nor with the Romantic revolt, in dealing with which it will be pertinent to appraise the relative excellence of Lessing and Goethe as compared with Coleridge and Hazlitt. . . .

Mr. Saintsbury is particularly happy in his treatment of Dryden and Johnson. The former's Prefaces and Johnson's "Lives of the Poets" are examined with a gusto that is infectious. In the "Lives" he sees the originals of that combination of biography and criticism which has become so popular in our own day.* "Their criticism is all the more valuable for being the criticism of their time. When we read Johnson's remarks on Milton's minor poems it is foolish to rave, and it is ignoble to sneer. The wise will rejoice in the opportunity to understand. . . . We may freely disagree with his judgments, but we can

* "All but the originals," I should say, for, as Mr. Saintsbury points out, Dryden's *Lives of Lucian and Plutarch* are the real originals.

"never justly disable his judgment ; and this is the real criterion of a great critic."

The third and final volume of Mr. Saintsbury's History will be, in many respects, the most interesting of the three ; and, after the difficulties surmounted in the earlier volumes, should prove comparatively easy writing. The work as a whole is not likely to commend itself to "the general reader," whose reading is not so general as the term might imply ; but to the student of literature it will be invaluable, furnishing as it does a synoptic yet practically exhaustive survey of European literary taste, from the earliest texts to the present day, such as no previous writer has had the hardihood to attempt. There are particular points in Mr. Saintsbury's work from which critics of other schools will dissent. That is inevitable, and even desirable.

* * * *

Mr. J. M. Barrie's new book, "The Little White Bird" (Hodder and Stoughton), has been so fully treated in the newspapers and weekly reviews that it is almost superfluous to criticise it in these pages. Truth to tell, the best way to read "The Little White Bird" is to throw criticism to the winds and give one's self up unreservedly to Mr. Barrie's mood. Those fortunate people who have moonshine in their souls will be enchanted ; those who have none will be a little puzzled, and even irritated ; while those who combine a little moonshine with the exercise of the critical faculty will be torn two ways. The reader with a feeling for the delicacies of literary expression can scarce turn a page without being arrested by some happy conceit, now pathetic, now whimsical, now quietly humorous, but always exquisitely expressed. It seems ungrateful to criticise adversely a book studded with fancies such as this : "When the first baby laughed for the first time, his laugh broke into a million pieces, and they all went skipping about. That was the beginning of fairies." Or this :

The only ghosts, I believe, who creep into this world are dead young mothers, returned to see how their children fare. There is no other inducement great enough to bring the departed back. They glide into the acquainted room when day and night, their jailers, are in the grip, and whisper, "How is it with you, my child ?" but always, lest a strange face should frighten him, they whisper it so low that he may not hear. . . . What is saddest about ghosts is that they may not know their child. They expect him to be just as he was when they left him, and hate the unknown boy he has become. These are the ghosts that go wailing about old houses, and foolish, wild stories are invented to explain what is all so pathetic and simple.

Yet, considered as a book, "The Little White Bird" has many and serious faults, extending in significance, as concerning Mr. Barrie, beyond the book itself. It is episodal and disjointed to the verge of

incoherency, the author seems to have lost all power of self-criticism and literary poise, and his attempt to blend a human love-story, a pure fairy-tale, and a study of the child mind in one is both unconvincing and distracting. The sentiment, too, is constantly degenerating into sentimentalism. I have spoken of "Mr Barrie's mood" but it is to be feared that the mood has become a fixed habit of mind, and that we shall never get those novels of real life for which Mr Barrie's admirers have been waiting so long. It is a pity, for though moonshine has a distinct place and value in the universal scheme of things, giving a beauty of its own to the objects it touches, it is not well to dwell in it too long.

* * * *

My only other excursion into 'recent fiction' this month has been in the pages of "The Disentanglers," by Mr Andrew Lang (Longmans, Green, and Co). "It is all chaff, but they won't see it," said one of Mr Lang's characters, and the remark may be taken as fairly summing up the book and the attitude of some of its reviewers, who, I fancy, have treated Mr Lang rather more seriously than he intended. After protracted studies Spinoza we are told, would unbend his mind by setting spiders to fight each other, watching their combats with immoderate fits of laughter. So we can picture Mr Lang in the intervals of probing the Gowrie Mystery to its depths or of instructing an ignorant world as to the true inwardness of totem-worship, dashing out into the playground of "The Disentanglers" with the high spirits of a schoolboy at eleven o'clock break. The book might very appropriately be called "The Recreations of a Man of Letters." It takes the form of a series of "adventures" of the approved Sherlock-Kettle pattern, each complete in itself, and strung together, in the manner of their popular prototypes, by the thread of a "Great Idea." The Idea is conceived by two clever but impecunious young men, who open an agency for the disentangling of undesirable matrimonial engagements. Their scheme is very ingenious, lending itself to farcical treatment of the most diverting kind: "We enlist a lot of girls and fellows like ourselves, beautiful, attractive, young, or not so young, well connected, intellectual, athletic, and of all sorts of types, but all broke, all without visible means of subsistence. We enlist them, we send them out on demand, carefully selecting our agents to meet the circumstances in each case. They go down and disentangle the amorous—well, by entangling them." The subsequent "adventures" arise out of the cases entrusted to this novel agency. Mr Lang writes in a spirit of pure burlesque, aiming his satiric shafts at everybody and everything, literary, academic, and social. Some of the points he makes will probably be a little too esoteric for the average reader, but those who know the literary *coulisses* should find plenty of amusement in these pages.

* * * *

When Mr. Archibald Colquhoun was travelling in the East in 1901, gathering material for his volume on "The Mastery of the Pacific," it would seem (though he never told us) that he was on his honeymoon trip. In "Two on their Travels" (Heinemann) Mrs. Colquhoun now gives us her account of the tour, which makes a very entertaining book of travel-gossip. The tone is delightfully unconventional and uninformative. Mr. Colquhoun—the "Andrew" of Mrs. Colquhoun's book—is the business member of the firm, and to him the reader must go for information concerning exports and imports, spheres of influence, and other unconsidered trifles; there is nothing about "mastery" in these pages, except the mastery of Andrew. Shortly after their engagement Andrew said: "Would you like to take a run out to the East after we are married?"

Andrew is the sort of man who always talks of "taking a run" to any place. He says one morning at breakfast, "shall we take a run over to Central America?" and if, in a fit of absent-mindedness, I say, "certainly!" he is just as likely as not to call and take steamer tickets that very afternoon. When he spoke of "the East," I had a delightfully vague idea of what he meant, but, of course, I gave the stereotyped reply without which no newly engaged conversation would be complete: "Anywhere with you, darling!"

They travelled by a Japanese ship from London to Singapore, *via* Ceylon; thence, with many diverting episodes by the way, to Java, Borneo, the Philippine Islands, Japan, and Corea, returning home from Vladivostock by the Trans-Siberian Railway. As a series of unconventional impressions of these countries, brightly written and full of humorous observation, Mrs. Colquhoun's book can be commended to globe-trotters and stay-at-homes alike. It is particularly well-illustrated with a number of full-page reproductions of drawings by the authoress, while the numerous thumb-nail sketches scattered throughout the volume are as amusing as the narrative itself.

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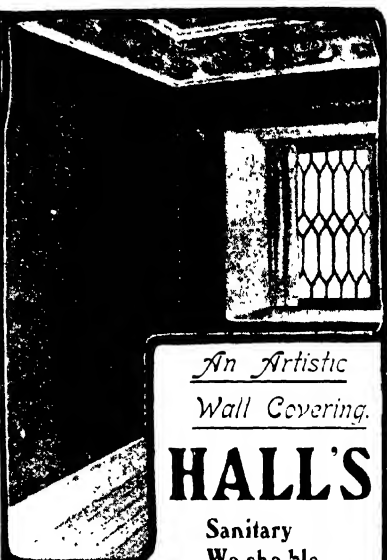
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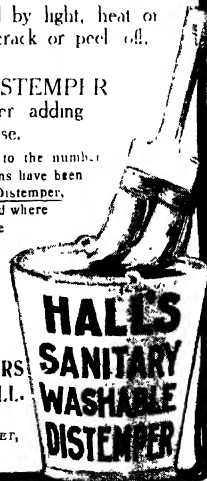
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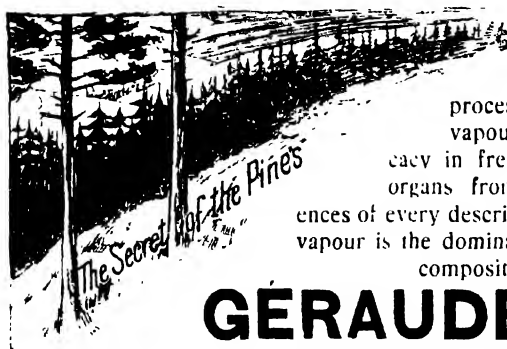
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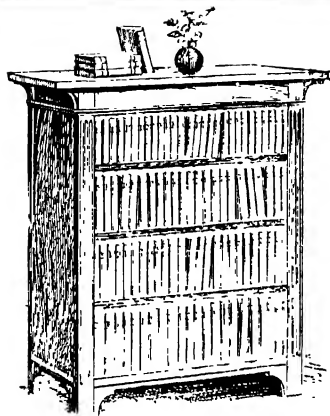
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I do not intend to discuss the judgments of the House of Lords' majority. It is not doubted that they applied themselves honestly to the grave and perplexing problem before them. It may be pointed

out, however, that the Scottish Courts decided unanimously in favour of the United Free Church. It is also well known that if Lord Shand had lived the Scottish judgments would have been confirmed. Lord Shand had prepared his judgment in favour of the Majority. Had he survived, there would have been an equal division in the House of Lords, in which case the Court of Session judgment would have stood. It is permissible, perhaps, to say that some of the learned judges were unfamiliar with the ways of Presbyterian life, and that Scottish ecclesiastical questions, whatever they may be, are not remarkably simple. The case to an outsider seems to have called for the testimony of experts, but for some reason there was no leading of evidence.

I confine myself to one point, but that point is of supreme importance. The Lord Chancellor in basing his judgment laid down the principle that to know the true destination of the property in dispute we must ascertain the mind of the donors, "or what we are constrained to infer would be their view if it were possible to consult them." As it happens, very many of the donors are now alive. It is unfortunate that in the pleadings before the House of Lords no specific statement was made as to the growth of the trust, but it is now known that in 1867 the capital fund was only £92,766 so that nearly £1,000,000 has been contributed in later years. Further, the great work of Church building has been going on during this period. The Disruption Churches and manses have been largely replaced by modern structures, and there has been endless activity in the way of Church extension. We note that in 1867 the Free Church declared that there was no barrier in principle to union with the United Presbyterians. When the union negotiations were temporarily abandoned in 1873, it was distinctly understood that they would be renewed, and as "a duty of deep and abiding obligation such as can never be evaded or postponed without serious responsibility being incurred." Immediately afterwards the Disestablishment movement began, and it had always on its side the great majority of the Free Church Assembly. At least 90 per cent. of the funds since 1867 have been provided by those in favour of union. The congregations represented in the Minority have not, as a rule, been self-sustaining. They have existed in a perfectly honourable dependence on the aid of the Church at large.

What were the views and intentions of the donors before 1867? I propose to answer this question from a careful study of the union debates in the Free Church Assembly from 1863 to 1873. At the time these debates commenced, the great leaders of the Disruption were nearly all alive. Chalmers and Cunningham had gone, but not till the former had proclaimed to Scotland, and the latter to America, that the way was open for future union with Scottish dissenters—indeed Chalmers looked forward in July, 1843, to "a speedy incorporation," on the ground that "there is no difference of

"government and no difference of theology which I am aware of." And they were survived by the statesman and historian of the ten years' conflict, Dr. Robert Buchanan; the subtle theologian and powerful orator, Dr. Candlish; the illustrious preacher, Dr. Guthrie; the most eminent of Scottish missionaries, Dr. Alexander Duff; the weightiest Scottish theologian of the period, Dr. Fairbairn; and the chief ecclesiastical jurists of their day, Sir Henry Moncreiff and Dr. William Wilson. These are but a few out of many, among whom it is well to remember Lord Dalhousie, who, as Mr. Fox Maule, championed the Church's cause in Parliament; and Alexander Murray Dunlop, the chief legal adviser of the Disruption Church. These men had fought the battle in their magnificent youth, and they were little if at all past their prime when the unionist negotiations began. It is to them surely that we must look as authorities when the mind and purpose of the original Free Church have to be discovered. They were all unionists; they carried with them the great majority of the Assembly; and even with the eminent men who ultimately opposed the union, men like Dr. Begg and Dr. Gibson, they found common ground in some of the present matters of debate. The House of Lords, in order to gain the end of having the Church property administered according to the wishes of the donors, handed it over to the Minority. They found that the Minority represented the original Free Church. (1) Because they accepted the Establishment principle; (2) Because they held the Confession of Faith without modification, it being according to the decision illegal to make any change in the symbol; (3) The Lord Chancellor was of opinion that the majority had parted from Calvinistic doctrine and become Arminians in contending for a free offer of the Gospel to all mankind, and he had considerable sympathy from other judges; (4) It was decided that the property of the Church according to the intention of the donors was tied to believers in the Establishment principle, and in an unmodified Confession of Faith.

My contention is that the Disruption leaders, men who surely knew their own principles, repudiated every one of the judgments of the House of Lords in advance by a large majority, and in part unanimously. The evidence is adduced from their own speeches, as reported in the Free Church Blue Books. The extracts might have been greatly multiplied, for the ground is gone over again and again, but I confine myself to essential passages.

I.

The House of Lords decided that the Establishment principle was fundamental to the Disruption Church. They based this view almost entirely on the speech given by Dr. Chalmers on the opening day of the first Assembly of the Free Church in 1843. The speech was published at the request of the Assembly, and in the judgment of the

Lords it was taken as a prospectus of the Free Church, and as a ground for deciding that union with United Presbyterians was incompatible with the principles of the Disruption men. It has been pointed out that the passage in Dr. Chalmers' speech had a sequel. Only two days later, in reply to criticisms, Dr. Chalmers said: "Before I conclude I have one thing to state to which I would request the attention of our Voluntary friends who may be present. I do not know anything that has more annoyed me than the report of the speech I gave from the Chair, in which I am represented as saying that I can hold no communion with those who hold the Voluntary principle. Now I said no such thing. I did not ask them to renounce their principle, and all I ask at their hands is that they will not ask me to renounce my principle. It was a point of difference between us, but I expressly said it was a point about which we could agree to differ." Dr. Chalmers went on: "Agreeably to the excellent distinction that there is a difference between co-operation and incorporation, we are perhaps not yet come the length of incorporation. But in the meanwhile there may be the most cordial, the most entire co-operation. It would be a noble thing if the members of all evangelical denominations would desiderate this to the uttermost. Look at the Saviour's prayer in the xvii. chapter of John, where the success of Christianity in the world is made to hinge not merely upon a real and vital, but upon an ostensible union among Christians—such a union as that the world in virtue of seeing it would be turned to the faith of the Gospel; and therefore I say that there should be no barrier in the way of an ostensible union of co-operation, although it may be the work of years before that union can be so complete as to come to incorporation."

Nobody has dreamed of denying that the leaders of the Disruption were not opposed to the establishment and endowment of Churches as such. They left the Church of Scotland not because they disapproved of her Establishment, but because they held that the Establishment was too dearly bought by the sacrifice of spiritual independence. They frequently, and in strong words, and for years gave testimony to their belief in the possibility of a Scriptural Establishment. But they were careful not to rule out the possibilities of union with those who differed from them on that one point, a point not of doctrine but of administration. Indeed some of them went much further. Dr. Guthrie—and be it remembered that he collected the great fund to build the manses which are now handed over to the Minority—was in favour of immediate union. Speaking at Berwick-on-Tweed, on November 13th, 1871, he said: "I always anticipated union. In 1843 I proposed it should take place immediately. . . . I knew the seceders well, better than many of my brethren in the Free Church; and so esteemed them that from the day of the Disruption—the glorious 18th of May, 1843—I took up

"the position I now occupy, and said in 1843 what I say now in 1871, that I see nothing in reason or in Scripture to hinder the union of these Churches to-morrow."

But let us see how the problem presented itself to the Disruption leaders twenty years later. In 1863, in proposing that negotiations for union with the United Presbyterians should be entered into, Dr. Robert Buchanan said: "They differ from us not as to the Headship of Christ over the nations, and not as to the obligation binding on civil rulers to own His authority, and to regulate their official as well as personal acts by His revealed will, but solely as to the lawfulness of setting up a Church establishment, and endowing it out of the public funds. . . . We hold the union of Church and State to be lawful, but we do not hold it to be indispensable. The prospect of any such change as would warrant the alliance is indefinitely remote." Dr. Charles J. Brown said that there was nothing about endowments in our Confession of Faith or in our formula." To him the spiritual freedom of the Church and her independence of the State was everything. "The life and soul of the Scottish Church from the beginning has been not its State endowments but its spiritual freedom." Dr. Guthrie said: "The whole question of Church endowment has passed into the region of theories and fine points; as a practical question it is dead and gone; nor should its old ghost now rise to frighten us." He went on: "I have known ministers as well as members of the United Presbyterian Church as strong for the union of Church and State as I ever was; and on the other hand I can tell the Moderator and Free Church ministers that many of their people are out-and-out Voluntaries." Dr. Begg, who ultimately became the anti-unionist leader, spoke very sympathetically. He declared they had come to the very threshold of the time when "we may join with the most earnest Voluntaries in proclaiming to the State that it is both sinful and fitted to bring down the judgment of God to be thus tampering with truth and falsehood alike. A thousand times rather abolish and sweep away all endowments together." While maintaining the doctrine of Christ's Headship over the nations, Dr. Begg held the question of endowments to be a "mere circumstantial and unimportant question." Mr. Nixon, who also was ultimately in opposition to union, was in favour of throwing overboard "the question of endowments which was a mere accident connected with their great principles." Dr. Candlish looked forward to the "blessed consummation of a Free United Church of Scotland, thoroughly Calvinistic, thoroughly Presbyterian, non-established as to the State, but established in the hearts of the people." The motion of Dr. Buchanan was unanimously adopted.

As the discussion went on, the whole attitude of the Disruption Church to the Establishment principle was thoroughly discussed and

defined. I take my main quotation from Sir Henry Moncreiff, who to the last desired and hoped for the settlement of Presbyterianism in Scotland on an Establishment basis, but was nevertheless one of the warmest advocates of union. Sir Henry's high eminence as a lawyer, and a certain quality of his nature defined by Mr. Taylor Innes as "intense personal uprightness and strenuous candour," gave peculiar weight to his judgment. Sir Henry in 1867 repudiated the Establishment principle as a term of communion. His words are: "We often testify for a great many things that are never made terms of communion. There are some things we think it right to testify always about, and even some of these we do not make terms of communion, and it does not follow that everything we hold and testify about should be made necessarily a term of communion." He went on: "When I am speaking of the formula, I may just say that no one ever maintained there was any change made in it with the design of putting out the question of Establishments; but the clause of the formula (founded on) was framed for the purpose of bringing in the point about the independence of the Church, and making that a term of ministerial communion. It was seen you must refer to the Claim of Right and Protest, and yet it was seen there were a great many things in that Claim and Protest to which you could not pledge your future ministers, because it involved a great amount of constitutional knowledge which they could not be expected to possess. Our ministers, therefore, are not bound by the formula to hold the principle of an Establishment, except in so far as the Confession of Faith might be supposed to bind them. My opinion is that the Confession binds us to great principles, but does not necessarily involve all the applications of them." Dr. Candlish endorsed Sir Henry Moncreiff's view. Speaking of the Establishment principle he said: "We are not making it an open question in the sense we are never to discuss and move on it, but we are simply saying that it is an open question in the sense that it is not to be made a term of communion. To that extent, and to that extent alone, we ask that this question be made an open one in the united Church. . . . You have Voluntaries in the Free Church . . . in the sense of not holding the necessity or even the lawfulness of such endowments for the Church. There are men among us who hold that view; and if I held it—if I avowed it—I defy any Doctor in this house to frame a libel against me. And I for one will object, most seriously object, to be more fettered, more restrained than we are by the Confession of Faith." In the 1868 Assembly Dr. Buchanan asked the members to observe that "the Reformed Churches have with one consent left the question of civil establishments of religion outside of these Confessions." He repudiated the idea that the approval of civil establishments of religion must be a term of communion in the proposed united Church.

"Such a term of communion is not warranted by the only binding formularies of our Church. The one thing which the questions put to us at ordination require us to say about a civil magistrate is that he does not possess jurisdiction or authoritative control over the regulation of the affairs of Christ's Church. But of what it is lawful for the civil magistrate to do in reference to the Church it says not one single word. It is altogether and absolutely silent. Of the formula precisely the same things are true. . . . It is those who differ from us who are the real innovators. For, before they possibly can, with any shadow of reason or consistency, demand such a condition as indispensable to union with another Church, they must first force it as a term of communion into the constitution of our own Church. And need I say that the day in which that is seriously attempted will witness the tearing of our Church to pieces, and that not because there may be a few among us who deny or who at least have begun to entertain grave doubts of the lawfulness of civil establishments of religion, but because while holding their lawfulness in certain circumstances, and on certain conditions, there are hundreds and hundreds among us at the same time who do not believe that Christ has authorised us to make of that question, even for office bearers, a term of Church communion."

In the 1870 Assembly, Sir Henry Moncreiff and Dr. Candlish spoke still more explicitly. Dr. Candlish said: "If this matter is pressed so far as to make men feel that we insist upon the recognition of the lawfulness of civil establishments of religion in the ordinary sense of the term as being essential to office in this Church, if that shall come to be the mind of this Church or a majority of the Church, and if union be arrested on that ground, why then I agree with Dr. Buchanan—and I say from pretty extensive personal knowledge of the younger ministers and office bearers of our Church—that they will not consent to be members of a Church that takes up that position. More than that, Sir, I myself, strongly, as I still hold the principle of the lawfulness and in some senses the propriety of civil establishments of religion, I would have very great hesitation indeed in continuing to belong to a Church which at this time of day made that a term of communion." Sir Henry Moncreiff explicitly stated, "It has been assumed by them that the Confession of Faith has always been considered by us as containing the doctrine of establishments; but I take the liberty of saying that I did not think so. In my youth I had difficulty about it on the subject of persecution. But I never thought of it as fixing the Establishment principle."

In the light of these quotations the mind of the Disruption leaders is clear. The great majority of them held that the Establishment principle was not a term of communion or of holding office in their Church; and they would have hesitated to belong to any Church so

constituted. The declarations in favour of Establishments were made by individuals and by Church Courts as testimonies, but they bound no man's conscience, and were no part of the constitution of the Church.

II.

With the question of the Confession of Faith and the right, and in certain circumstances the duty of the Church to revise it, I can deal much more briefly.

In the Assembly of 1866 the Moderator, Dr. William Wilson, of Dundee, took for his theme the relation of the Church to her Confession of Faith. After laying down that the Confession of Faith is the basis of the Church organisation, and a testimony to those who are without, Dr. Wilson went on: "No Confession of Faith can ever be regarded by the Church as a final or permanent document. She must always vindicate her right to revise it, to purge it, to add to it. We claim no infallibility for it or for ourselves who declare our belief in the propositions which it contains. We lie open always to the teaching of the Divine Spirit; nay, we believe in the progressive advancement of the Church into a more perfect knowledge of the truth. . . . It is open to the Church at any time to say we have obtained clearer light on one or other or all of the propositions contained in this Confession; we must revise it; the time has come for us to frame a new point of union with each other, a new testimony to the world. If this freedom does not belong to us then indeed we are in bondage to our Confession and renounce the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free." The great theologian of the Church at that time, Principal Patrick Fairbairn, took occasion later on to endorse the Moderator's statement. He said: "I trust we shall not idolise either of these documents [the Confession of Faith and the Catechism] or lift them out of the place that properly belongs to them. They are but human compositions adapted to the Church's state and relations at an advanced stage of her history; and admirable as they are, we must hold theoretically to the right as so well stated, Sir, in your opening address, and in certain conceivable circumstances must admit the duty of revising them, and perhaps, as we have done with our ordination formula, abbreviating in one place and enlarging in another, as the exigencies of the time may require." What is still more remarkable is the testimony of Dr. James Gibson, the most conservative of all Free Church theologians, and a leading anti-unionist. Dr. Gibson said: "He agreed with the Moderator and with Principal Fairbairn on the general principle that it is lawful to revise the Confession. No man would lay down the abstract principle that they were in no circumstances to revise what is, after all, a mere human document." There was not a whisper of dissent from these views in all the Assembly.

It will not do to say that all that was meant by these leaders was that the Church might revise its Confession and lose its property. One has liberty to do anything if one chooses to take the penal consequences. The only liberty worth talking about is a liberty to be exercised without fear of penalty. So far from regarding the Church as a mere trust, which was the position taken by the majority of the judges, even Dr. Gibson rejected the view and contended for the recognition of the Church by the civil magistrate on the ground that the civil magistrate must acknowledge that there was a difference between a Church and an association of merchants. The power of the Church to grow in grace and knowledge is essential to her very existence, and this view was held, it is safe to say, by every leader of the Disruption.

III.

The question of doctrine requires no lengthened treatment for the simple reason that the Minority have already repudiated the position taken by their own Counsel and by the Lord Chancellor. This seems incredible, but can easily be proved. From the first the Lord Chancellor showed a passionate interest in the question whether the free offer of the Gospel is consistent with the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. It may be said at once that the dogmatists known as Hyper-Calvinists agree with the Lord Chancellor that the free offer of the Gospel is not warranted. These have been specially strong among the Baptists, and in his early days Mr. Spurgeon was brought under their influence. But when he commenced his ministry, while ardently advocating Calvinism, he insisted on his right to preach the Gospel to all men. The glory of the early Free Church was its full and free and faithful preaching of the unhampered and unhindered Gospel. In this no one was more earnest than Dr. Chalmers. In the last recorded conversation of his life he declared himself to be a predestinarian: "My theology is that of Jonathan Edwards." But, he said, "I think that the word *world*, as applied in Scripture to the sacrifice of Christ, has been unnecessarily 'restricted'; the common way of explaining it is that it simply includes 'Gentiles as well as Jews. I do not like that explanation, and I think there is one text that puts that interpretation entirely aside. The text to which I allude is, that 'God commandeth *all men, every-where*, to repent.'" He then went on to speak with great eloquence and passion of the connection between the election of God, the sacrifice of Christ, and the freeness of the offer of the Gospel. Said he, "In the offer of the Gospel we must make no limitation whatever." This is the dying testimony of Dr. Chalmers. But the Counsel for the Minority took the other view and argued that the preaching of a free Gospel was plainly inconsistent with predestination. Thus Mr.

Salvesen said, "If you will take the second paragraph it says that this Church also holds that all who hear the Gospel are warranted and required to believe to the saving of their souls; and that in the case of such as do not believe, but perish in their sins, the issue is due to their rejection of the Gospel call. This is the very opposite of election—that is free will—punishment for one's own sins." Mr. Haldane's ingenious argument to the contrary was almost overborne by the incessant interruptions of the judges. One passage may be quoted. Mr. Haldane: "I do not wish to contradict the Confession of Faith; I say there is no contradiction. I say what occurs in the Confession of Faith is this; there are two things, the one, foreordination by God, and the other, the free will of man and the freedom of the offer which is made to men, and these two are treated by theologians as consistent with each other. My proposition is that the Confession of Faith does not assert the one to the exclusion of the other." The Lord Chancellor: "If they are treated as reconcilable by theologians, it was not the theologians who discussed that question at the period the Confession of Faith was settled; they did not preach them as reconcilable. They denounced those who took different views in no measured terms." To that view, a view which no theologian would pronounce historically tenable, the Lord Chancellor adhered in his judgment. For a considerable time the Minority were silent, but as the effect of the Lord Chancellor's pronouncement was brought out they began to repudiate it, and in the Manifesto issued by them on September 4th, they say: "This judgment does not affect the Church's right to preach the free Gospel." It is a strange ending to the strangest phase of this extraordinary lawsuit. As a matter of fact the right to preach a free Gospel has never been seriously questioned in the unbroken Free Church. As Principal Fairbairn said, some maintained the right on the ground that the Bible commanded such preaching; others maintained it on the ground of the all-sufficiency of the death of Jesus; and others on both grounds. But the differences had no practical effect.

IV.

On the question of property the House of Lords apparently held that it was free to deal with all the buildings as well as all the accumulated funds. But a study of the Blue Books shows that at the Disruption the Free Church did her very best to prevent such suits from arising, and was of opinion that she had succeeded. The large proportion of Free Church buildings are held under the Model Trust Deed. In 1868 Mr. Murray Dunlop, who, along with the late Lord Rutherford drew up the Deed, reported to the Free Church: "It is obvious that one main object of the Deed was to exclude, in the event of any split in the body, any question being raised before the

"Court of Session as to which Party most truly were carrying out the principles of the Free Church, and to secure the power of deciding that question to each separate congregation, with reference to their own place of worship or other property. . . . The Model Deed was framed under the advice of the late Lord Rutherford and Mr. Dunlop, legal adviser of the Church, specially for the accomplishing this object, and these counsel, after anxiously considering its terms, were satisfied that the object would be attained by the Deed as so framed. Mr. Dunlop is of opinion that as regards all the property held under the Model Trust Deed, unless in the event of not less than one-third of the ordained ministers separating simultaneously, or within a period of three months, and professing to be carrying out more faithfully than the majority the objects and principles of the Free Church, no question can arise as to which party carries out these principles most faithfully and fully; and that if a secession of at least one-third should occur, each congregation will have power to decide for themselves, and to carry their property with them to the division of the body to which they adhere as most truly carrying out these principles and objects; but, at the same time, they will have to pay to the minority a proportion of the value of the property corresponding to the number of the minority." The form of it was approved of by an Act of Assembly of 1844 on the report of a committee, of which Dr. Begg was Convener. Dr. Begg explained that the property of places of worship "which is ordinarily to be regulated by a majority of the Assembly should, in the event of a split in the Church, be determined by a majority of the congregation whatever the Courts of Law may determine as to which of the contending parties is to be held to be the Free Church." These conditions were in no way fulfilled in the recent secession. The Minority number at most thirty ministers out of about eleven hundred. The founders of the Free Church trusted their property to the use of congregations "of any united body of Christians" which the Free Church might in future constitute by a union with or without change of name. And, in case of division arising on the subject, they left it to the decision of two-thirds of the ministers. Lord Rutherford and Mr. Murray Dunlop may seem to the House of Lords to have failed in their draughtsmanship, but as to their intention there can be no doubt. Such a position as the Church finds herself in at the present moment the founders did their very best to make impossible.

If I venture to make a personal reference it is merely because my experience is similar to that of the vast majority in the Church. When in 1870 I entered the Free Church Divinity Hall in Aberdeen the Professors were Principal Lumsden, Dr. David Brown and Dr. Robertson Smith. All three firmly supported union; all three main-

tained that by the constitution of the Church the Establishment principle was not a term of communion or of ordination to office; all three, while strong Calvinists, maintained and exercised the right to preach the Gospel freely; all three held that the Confession of Faith might and ought to be revised on due cause shown. During the eleven years of my ministry in the Free Church these were the principles of the vast majority. I have remained in association with the Free Church and have contributed according to my means not only to the ordinary income but to the building of churches and manses. There are hundreds of thousands who have done the same. There are many thousands who have been able to do so on a much larger scale; and all have contributed in the faith that the money would be applied in the service of their convictions. If the Establishment principle had been a term of communion we could never have belonged to the Free Church. If we had believed the Church to be tied for all time to the Confession of Faith we should never have subscribed a penny to its funds. To a Church constituted as the Church of the Minority is now we should never have given anything. Our money has been taken and violently diverted to purposes which are hateful to us. Should we not have a right to demand it back? Is there not a clear case for restitution? I make the appeal to all fair-minded men. No doubt the desire of the Majority in the House of Lords was to ascertain and give effect to the mind of the donors of the Trust Fund. Manifestly they have failed to do so. The unintentional effect of their judgment is confiscation on an unexampled scale. Is there not an urgent call for immediate redress in the interests of common justice as well as of Christianity?

W. ROBERTSON NICOLL.

THE PROBLEM OF IRISH EDUCATION.

IF it were not that convention demands that I should entertain the most profound respect for the wisdom of Parliament, I am bound to confess that I should often smile cynically at its utter fatuousness. And its attitude towards the problem of Irish education offers a good example of the provocation. For the last sixty years the problem of Irish education has been the problem of the Catholic University. Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Disraeli, each essayed in his time to settle the Irish education question; and each effort confined itself exclusively to the University side of the case. Of course I do not underrate the importance of the University problem. But I do wish to point out the extremely elementary fact that until you make your primary and secondary education thorough and efficient, very much of your effort on behalf of University education must inevitably prove fruitless. And I am profoundly convinced that Parliament has up to now devoted its energies to the wrong end of Irish education. I am equally certain that if you could at once endow a Catholic University or University College, and, as a necessary concomitant, give greater financial aid to the institutions of alleged University rank conducted under the auspices of other religious bodies in Ireland, you would simply have made provision for many years to come for a poorish sort of High School education masquerading as University Training. My case is the fairly obvious contention that you must look to your foundations before you proceed with the upper stories.

THE CONDITION OF THE IRISH PRIMARY SCHOOLS.

Very good. Now let us look at the condition of Irish primary education. Recently a very lurid picture has been drawn by Mr. Dale, an Inspector under the English Board of Education. But Irish school managers particularly have taken strong exception to Mr. Dale's strictures on the ground that his visit was of a cursory character and

that his conclusions were necessarily superficial and erroneous. Well, I will put Mr. Dale and his Report entirely on one side and base my case on the Reports of the Irish Inspectors of Schools themselves, most of them men of great experience and acute knowledge of the real state of affairs.

I turn first to the condition of far too many of the elementary school premises in Ireland. Everybody who has studied the matter at all knows that for many years past the Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland has teemed with the most disquieting statements by the Inspectors of Schools. Let me make an extract or two:—

Mr. Purser (Head Inspector of the North Dublin District, in the 1897 Report):—

It is not an extravagant supposition that a large part of the sickness among children of the country is brought on by badly-ventilated schoolhouses, combined with want of due warmth in wet and cold weather. It is downright cruelty to have a schoolroom for the poorly clad children so cold that an Inspector, even with a heavy overcoat on, feels chilled in hands and feet.

Mr. Sullivan (Head Inspector of Galway District, 1897):—

It is painful to see—as an Inspector cannot fail to see—little groups of barefooted boys and girls, miserably clad, trying to make their way on a winter's morning to a neighbouring school. In such cases one hopes that the schoolroom, when reached, may make these poor children warm and comfortable. Unfortunately this is not the case. My experience, and it is extensive, is that the schoolroom which awaits most children after their walk over bleak roads or paths is a cold cheerless apartment. Some sods of turf have been placed on the hearth and lighted, but as yet they give no heat, nothing but a mass of smoke. One day last January—and this day and the school may be taken as typical of many others—I was examining in such a cheerless room as that which I have above described. As the children came in they sat—quiet, melancholy, and miserable-looking, in the desks. I was glad to keep on my overcoat, and I also had the advantage of moving about.

Dr. Beatty (Senior Inspector, Newtownards District, 1899):—

Another most serious defect arises from the almost indecent, and with little doubt insanitary, position of the out offices. Their restricted use is sowing the seeds of diseases in after life. . . . The schoolhouses no doubt help the work of disease. I can count up fourteen monitors who have retired through ill-health, and have, I imagine, all since died. Two young monitors employed in an over-crowded school have died within a year.

Dr. Moran (Senior Inspector, Belfast District, 1900):—

Out offices, instead of being an advantage, are in some instances a dangerous source of disease and death.

Mr. Hogan (Senior Inspector, Dundalk District, 1903):—

A common feature is the bareness of whitewashed walls, unrelieved by pictures, charts or maps. . . . The furniture is old and meagre, desks notched and unsteady, easels broken, no clock, insufficient blackboards. Fuel is generally supplied by the pupils and teachers jointly; there is often scarcity at the beginning of the cold weather, and recently I met with cases where no fire was lighted at 10 o'clock.

Dr. Beatty (Senior Inspector, Ballymena District, 1903):—

It is a painful duty for an Inspector to exert pressure with regard to the provision of apparatus, knowing as he does that the expense in almost all cases will fall wholly or mainly on the unfortunate teacher. Quite recently a teacher informed me that she had provided the table, the fire-screen, the maps, and even the desks—in fact everything except the walls and the roof of the schoolroom.

Speaking of the desks, Dr. Beatty continues:—

Many of them, however, are fit only for firewood. But the provision of new furniture and the necessary repairs and renovations of the building are in many cases apparently hopeless under the present system of management. The doors are left unpainted, the walls without whitewash, the roofs broken. Quite recently I had to spend half-an-hour convincing a manager that whitewash was desirable, although the walls, black and weather-stained, were before his eyes. On another occasion, in another locality, I had to spend a like amount of time trying (without success) to convince a manager that a hole in a roof nearly a foot square, through which the rain was streaming, called for some action on his part.

These are but a very few typical extracts from official pages burdened with innumerable criticisms of a similar character. Surely no one can either read them with equanimity or let them pass without the determination that the state of things they reveal shall not be allowed to continue. As an evidence of the gravity of the matter I may remark that the recent Inter-departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration amongst its recommendations says:—

It appears that the elementary school system prevailing in Ireland urgently requires amendment in regard to warming of schools and hygienic conditions generally.

HOW THE CHILDREN ATTEND THEM.

I turn from the problem of the condition of the fabric of the schools to that of the way the children attend the schools. And here I touch a state of things which is deplorable to the last degree, having regard to the future of the Irish people. I know there is very great poverty in the land: I know that in the remote districts long distances have to be travelled by little mites on their way to school: I know that the weather is often bitterly inclement: and, as I have just shown, too often the condition of the school premises is not such as would inspire



the parents with any keen desire to send the children to them regularly and punctually. But, after making all fair allowances, attendance in Ireland cannot be fairly described as other than hopelessly unsatisfactory. Continuous and effective training—such as shall equip them for the struggle that is before them, and shall place at the disposal of the Empire the trained and developed native capacity of the Irish people—becomes a grotesque impossibility so long as the mass of the children attend as they do

Let me give the facts. There are 747,864 children on the rolls of the Irish primary schools. In daily average attendance there are 487,098. Thus, every time the schools are open, there are no fewer than 260,766, or roughly *one out of every three of the total number enrolled away*. Really, education becomes well-nigh farcical under such conditions. Let me institute some comparisons. Out of every 100 times the schools are open,

The average Scotch child attends 85 and is absent 15.

The average English child attends 84 and is absent 16

The average Irish child attends 65 and is absent 35.

Pursue the contrast with Scotland a little closer. In Scotland there is a school roll of 785,473, only 37,600 more than in Ireland. But the daily average attendance is 669,289, or 182,190 more than Ireland.

If I am told that the scattered and mountainous character of many parts of the country makes regularity impossible I point to the county of Westmoreland, where the percentage of regularity is 88·1 per cent. If I am told that poverty is the besetting hindrance, I point to the two East-end Divisions of London—Hackney and the Tower Hamlets—where the percentage of regularity is 87·6 per cent. In Ireland it is, as will be seen, 65 per cent. Indeed, the further the Irish attendance figures are examined, the worse they appear. As a matter of fact 44·9 per cent. of the children attend less than half-time. Having learnt this, one is not surprised to find from the 1901 census that of the entire population of the country of five years of age and upwards 13·7 could neither read nor write; the figures for the four provinces being: Leinster, 11·3 per cent.; Ulster, 12·5 per cent.; Munster, 14 per cent.; and Connaught, 20·7 per cent. I leave this gloomy phase of the problem with the simple comment that until school attendance is vastly improved there is no hope for that firm and well-established foundation of primary education upon which alone the superstructure of sound technical, commercial, advanced industrial, and University education can be raised.

HOW PRIMARY EDUCATION IS FINANCED.

I turn to the financial side of the question, expecting naturally enough to find Irish education starved. In comparison with the other

parts of the United Kingdom, however, the annual "maintenance" expenditure is not so very meagre after all. 51s. 6d. was the expenditure per child in 1902 in Ireland. In the English Board schools it was 60s. 9d.; in the Voluntary schools it was 45s. 5d. In the Scotch "Public" schools it was 58s. 8d.; in the Voluntary schools it was 48s. 6½d. There is not here the striking difference that might have been looked for, bearing in mind the general condition of Irish primary education. More money is no doubt needed. But equally pressing is the need to devise a more scientific and economical application of that money.

A characteristic of Irish education is the very large number of extremely small schools in the scattered rural areas, each involving the capital charges necessary for the upkeep of a separate institution. Could not the Scotch system of central schools to which the children are carried at the public expense be developed? Both financially and educationally one thoroughly well-found school of 100 children is enormously to be preferred to five little starved institutions of twenty children apiece. I consider that the Commissioners have woefully overlooked their educational functions in eagerly allowing every little religious community to have its separate little school—a policy which has meant three or four hopelessly extravagant and hopelessly starved schools in one village, the educational needs of which would have been far better served by one good school.

The striking feature, however, in the financing of Irish education as compared with the systems of other parts of the United Kingdom is the practical non-existence of local financial aid on behalf of the schools. The following figures state the case:—

	Total Maintenance Expenditure per Child.	Amount Furnished by		Percentage of Amount Provided by Locality.
		Exchequer Grants.	Local Aid— Rates or Voluntary Subs.	
Ireland	s. d. 51 6	s. d. 48 9½	s. d. 2 10½	5 per cent.
England and Wales—				
Board Schools ...	60 9	30 8	30 1	50 per cent.
Voluntary Schools	45 5	35 5	10 0	22 per cent.
Scotland—				
"Public" Schools	58 8	35 7	23 1	38 per cent.
Voluntary Schools	48 6½	35 5	13 1½	30 per cent.

Upon the face of it, Irish education—speaking comparatively and subject to the very much wider problem of the financial relations between the various parts of the United Kingdom—does fairly well out of the Imperial Exchequer. The question to consider is whether the margin of income derivable from the localities could not be widened. Of course the country is extremely poor, and it would be absurd to ask the heavy local contributions found by England, Scotland, and Wales. But I think a small and universally levied education rate is not only desirable but practicable. And I am sure its introduction would have the two-fold advantage of placing more money at the disposal of the schools and also of developing a general local interest and concern in the schools, which appears now to be sadly wanting.

THE TREATMENT OF THE IRISH PRIMARY TEACHER.

The one pleasant feature of any Irish Blue Book on education is the unanimous testimony of the Inspectors as to the zeal, devotion, patience and public spirit of the Irish teacher. I speak of him with deep respect, marvelling at the success he achieves, confronted as he is by such heart-breaking difficulties. His work is rarely accomplished in an atmosphere of ready appreciation, is rarely accompanied by those material considerations which help to make it congenial. Out of his scanty purse he is called upon by the Commissioners to be responsible, failing others, for the warming of the schoolroom in the winter, and, as innumerable Inspectors' reports tell us, he has to put his hand into his pocket for repairs to the fabric of the schools, for prize funds for the pupils, and so on. Now let us look at his emoluments as compared with those paid to his English and Scotch colleagues. The following are the figures for 1902:—

	£	s.	d.
Irish men head teachers—average salary	99	9	3
English and Welsh men head teachers—average salary	147	10	2
Scotch men head teachers—average salary	174	6	11

Observe this further fact, that whilst the Irish *head* master received on an average £99 9s. 3d., the English certificated *assistant* master received £107 0s. 11d., and the Scotch certificated *assistant* master £113 7s. 6d. Observe further that of the 1,083 men certificated assistants in Ireland, many of them married men with families, 1,030 (or 95 per cent.) received a wage which ranged somewhere between 21s. and 33s. a week; and that of the 2,641 certificated assistant mistresses, 2,581 (or 98 per cent.) were paid wages that ranged somewhere between 17s. and 27s. a week. I see that Rule 172 of the Regulations of the Commissioners says:—

National teachers should be persons of Christian sentiment, of

calm temper, and discretion; they should be imbued with a spirit of peace, of obedience to the law, and of loyalty to their Sovereign; they should not only possess the art of communicating knowledge, but be capable of moulding the mind of youth, and of giving to the power which education confers a useful direction. These are the qualities for which patrons or local managers of schools, when making choice of teachers, should anxiously look. They are those which the Commissioners are anxious to find, to encourage and to reward.

All I can say is this, that the Commissioners seem to want a lot for their money.

THE STATE OF HIGHER EDUCATION.

But deplorable as is the condition of Irish primary education, it is at least equalled by the state of intermediate education. This is under the direction of a wonderful body of twelve Commissioners, two assistant Commissioners, and of course the usual host of officials. This body is charged with the promotion of intermediate education in Ireland. How does it carry out its responsibility? *Simply and solely by conducting examinations upon which result fees are paid!* It perpetuates the Robert Lowe system in its most pernicious form, and deliberately perverts secondary education in Ireland into the most barefaced system of grant grinding. Last year this egregious institution spent £98,555. And this is how that sum was spent:—

Administration—

Permanent salaries, temporary inspectors' remuneration, "locomotive expenses," etc., etc.	£6,633
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Examinations—

Examiners' remuneration, examination superintendents, "locomotive expenses," etc., etc.	10,843
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Total on administration and examination	£17,476
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Grants to schools	£57,318
To managers of schools	12,404
Prizes, exhibitions, and rewards to examinees	11,356

Grand total	£98,554
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This means that on examination and administration *just upon one-fourth of the total money was spent!* Is there anything like it outside China? But observe this further; 7,909 pupils were examined.

Therefore we get the following :—

	£	s.	d.
Cost of <i>examining</i> each intermediate scholar	2	4	2
Cost of <i>educating</i> each elementary scholar (including a pretty stiff system of examination)	2	11	6

Then there is the newly-formed "Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction," with a sum of £325,000 annually at its disposal. This it distributes under Sir Horace Plunkett's special guidance and for the purpose, as a witty Irishman explained to me the other day in Dublin, of "teaching hens how they ought to lay eggs." I have no doubt this department has done something for Irish agriculture with its indiscriminate grants and its peripatetic lecturers, because I heard Mr. Wyndham wax eloquent on the Irish Estimates as to the increase in the number of stallions, bulls, barrow pigs, and so on. But all this is hardly what I should call a justification for an expenditure of £325,000 a year. Neither does it represent a complete provision of technical education.

THE ABSENCE OF CO-ORDINATION.

But please observe that all these Boards are quite independent the one of the other. Indeed in some respects they are frankly rival and competing agencies. And this brings me to another acute phase of this hopeless problem of the condition of Irish education—namely, the utter absence of anything in the nature of educational co-ordination.

In the constitution of the Canton Zurich there is a clause which declares that "the higher establishments for teaching shall be brought into organic connection with the popular school." This is the educational ideal which so links the various grades of schools together that the path of the lad of capacity but of humble extraction is made easy and uninterrupted until he has attained to the full enjoyment of all the facilities for public education offered by the community. To secure this most desirable end the managers and governors of the different grades of publicly aided schools must in each locality work together in close harmony and correlation. Otherwise there will not only be no linkage of the various classes of schools, but the curriculum of the one class will not lead up organically to the curriculum of the other.

And not only should the local management of the primary school be in close touch with the local control of the place of higher education. Both should be aided and administered by one and the same central State Board. Last Session's Scotch Bill frankly put all public education—primary and higher—under one and the same Local Authority in each area. It did more. It provided for the supervision from the centre of all grades of public education by one and the same

Department of State. It was, according to its authors, mainly to bring about these most desirable educational reforms that the English Act of 1902 was passed.

Now how does Ireland stand in these matters? Are her primary schools so closely interlocked locally with her higher schools that the readiest means are to hand for carrying upward the bright pupil to the highest rungs on the educational ladder? Is there that community of aim and purpose in the various grades of Irish schools which I have laid down as the first essential in a really perfected national system of schools? And if it be true that these things are wanting locally, is the situation rendered less acute by the fact that at the centre, at any rate, all grades of education are administered by one effective and authoritative Board? Every student of the problem knows how gloomy a negative must be given to these queries. At the centre there is the National Board administering elementary education. And separated altogether from it, both in *personnel* and purpose, there are, as already said, the Intermediate Board, and the "Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction." All this means not only considerable waste in administrative finance and power, but also (and this is of even greater importance nationally) the treatment of the schools as independent and unrelated entities rather than as co-ordinated and constituent parts of one complete and harmoniously designed whole. The financial extravagance is a really serious item. The three Irish Boards eat up £120,000 a year in official administration and inspection. Scotland—which has a slightly larger and a far more effective system of education than Ireland—spends under £60,000 a year on the same items. To put the matter another way. Out of every 20s. of Exchequer aid to education in England and Wales, 17s. 6d. go direct to education and 3s. to official machinery and inspection. In Scotland the figures are 16s. 2d. to education and 3s. 10d. to official machinery and inspection. *In Ireland the figures are 13s. 6d. to education and 6s. 6d. to official machinery and inspection.*

SOME PROPOSALS FOR REFORM.

I enter upon this part of my task with no little trepidation. For I am fully alive to the fact that it is always very much simpler to point out defects than to indicate reforms which shall command general support without arousing particular hostility—a proposition which is singularly true as regards Irish education. Still I shall not shrink from the duty of offering one or two suggestions as to the path reform should take. Things cannot remain as they are. I agree entirely with Mr. Wyndham, who told the House of Commons on the 18th of April last that the attempt must be made to bring Irish education up to date and thus to remove the educational disparity which has already grown so deep and wide between Ireland and other parts of the United

Kingdom. A new disability is being fastened around the neck of young Ireland. Difficult as the task may be, that disability must be removed. The question is how to set about it.

In the first place, and to begin at the centre, I would reform and unify the various Irish Boards of Education. In lieu of the several central authorities now responsible for the direction of the different grades of Irish education *I would create one Central National Council.* This body should be representative of the Municipal Councils and of the various educational interests concerned. It would be represented in Parliament by a Minister corresponding to the English Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education and to the Scotch Vice-President. It would have a permanent official head filling the place that Sir Henry Craik fills in Scottish education and Mr. Morant in English. Into further details I need not go. The essential principles to be aimed at are (1) the representative character of the Board; (2) its direct authority over all grades of public education; and (3) its direct responsibility to Parliament. There would be nothing of the "Castle Board" about this of course. But that it will be denounced as a new "Castle Board" by those who are not altogether enamoured of the prospect of genuine educational progress in Ireland I do not doubt.

As to local responsibility I think we had better admit that, speaking generally, there is little or no local interest in the daily doings of the common school in Ireland. The manager, the teacher, the inspector—the whole thing rests upon these three. The current reports of the Inspectors are quite unanimous in deploring the apathetic attitude of the people. Let me make an extract or two from the 1903 Report:—

Mr. Strong (Senior Inspector, Dublin Circuit):—

I have already said that one of the greatest drawbacks to the complete success of the system of primary education is the apathy and want of interest shown locally.

Dr. Alexander (Senior Inspector, Cork Circuit):—

Educational questions, as such, interest very few people in this part of the country except the managers.

Mr. Dewar (Senior Inspector, Sligo Circuit):—

Local interest in the welfare of the schools—apart from that of the managers—is scarcely appreciable.

Mr. M'Ilwaine (Senior Inspector, Ballinasloe Circuit):—

None of the Inspectors of this Circuit have been able to see any evidence of local interest in the welfare of the schools.

Mr. Headon (Senior Inspector, Portarlington):—

With the exception of the manager, and, in districts where the compulsory clauses of the Education Act are enforced, the attendance

officer, no one in this country takes the slightest interest, pecuniary or otherwise, in the welfare of the schools.

Mr. Smith (Senior Inspector, Cork Circuit):—

My colleagues agree in stating that local interest in schools, outside that shown by the managers, is virtually a negligible quantity.

Mr. Craig (Senior Inspector, Longford Circuit):—

Local interest in the schools, other than that of the managers, is practically non-existent.

Without labouring the point we will take it as agreed that local interest is conspicuously absent. We will take it as agreed also that until the people who use the schools begin to take a living concern in them much of their work must remain arid and unproductive. Well, how are we to set about developing this vitally essential local interest? My only suggestion is that we should confer local responsibility, financial and administrative. Education must take its place as an item in local self-government. Deeply grateful as I am to the school manager who has toiled alone and for no other reward than that which comes from the sense of duty well done, and tenderly susceptible as I am to his predilections and prejudices, I would appeal to him to ponder whether the time has not now come when it is necessary, in order that Ireland may adapt herself to the newer and more strenuous demands of the coming day, that he should frankly recognise that the provision and control of secular education at any rate are communal obligations to be borne by the whole community.

It will at once be seen that I am in favour of the control of the secular part of education by local public authorities. Of course my ideal would be Local Education Boards elected *ad hoc*, administering suitable areas, and empowered with jurisdiction over all grades of publicly-aided education. But I have lived long enough to know that what may suit Scotland, according to the Bill of the present year, and what I think would have admirably suited England and Wales (though my contentions were contumeliously scouted by the same Government as that which proposes to confer universal School Boards upon Scotland), does not necessarily meet the case of Ireland. But I think we might utilise the County Councils. Each might have its Education Committee, to which representatives of the managers would, of course, have to be co-opted. Upon each would be conferred certain powers and duties; and so far as secular education is concerned, the County Education Committee would act through local school managers.

The justification for all this local machinery and the agency which alone could galvanise it into activity must be financial. The Exchequer grants would be paid to the schools through the Municipal Committees from the Central National Council. But there must, I think, be a public local contribution. Probably you could not

ask for more than a penny or a twopenny rate. But a local rate, no matter how small, is an essential feature in any scheme which is to arouse public interest and concern. Of course, subject to the general Code of the National Council, the Municipal Councils would dispense their rate-aid to the schools upon their own terms.

I know I shall be told that I ignore the religious question. I do not. So far as Ireland is concerned probably the first of the rules of the Commissioners is in accord with public desire. That is to say :—

The object of the system of national education is to afford combined literary and moral, and separate religious instruction, to children of all persuasions, as far as possible in the same school, upon the fundamental principle that no attempt shall be made to interfere with the peculiar religious tenets of any description of Christian pupils.

So long as this remains acceptable to the Irish people I have nothing more to say—except to add that I am personally strongly against the segregation of children by religious denominations which this scheme involves. Therefore my plan is deliberately designed so as not to conflict in any way with the first “object” of national education in Ireland as set forth by the Commissioners.

As I think, the University problem cannot advantageously be tackled until the whole field of Irish primary and secondary education has been resolutely cultivated, consequently I say no word about it at present. I am all for doing the first thing first. The overhauling of the University problem would follow. Let me only add now as a last word the expression of the sincere hope that the blots which at present disfigure Irish education may speedily be removed ; and that the British Empire may enjoy to the full the wealth of intellectual alertness, mental adaptability and imaginative genius which are the traditional characteristics of the Irish race.

T. J. MACNAMARA.

ANIMAL MARRIAGE.

TO many my title will appear an absurdity. But any one who doubts the existence, or even the "sanctity," of a marriage tie among animals doesn't know many animals well. We have no more a monopoly of conjugal fidelity than we have of any of the other virtues. Here, as elsewhere, the more closely we study animals the less we feel disposed to boast of our "superiority." Some of us may even find ourselves in the position of the newly-converted Cinghalese chief, who, when told by the missionary that he must break up his harem to live a Christian life, exclaimed aghast: "White man only "one wife, all life long? How disgusting! Just like Wanderoo "monkeys!"

Marriage consists in the union of the sexes for such a term and under such conditions as will result in the production and survival of the largest number of most effective offspring, in each particular species, climate, and grade of civilisation. The duration of marriage is usually determined by the length of time during which the offspring require the care and protection of both parents in order properly to equip them for the struggle of life. Monogamous marriage, lasting for life, is the highest type as yet evolved, and has survived all other forms and become that adopted by every dominant race, on account of its resulting in the largest number of most efficient offspring.

I believe that this fact has not been given the weight which it deserves in discussing the origin and sanctions of human marriage. Of course the bare fact of marriage or sexual union is present in all species of animals; but in all the higher and many even of the intermediate forms a definite term is also fixed for this union, with rights possessed by both parties under it and penalties for its violation. Not only so, but every form of conjugal union which the ingenuity of man has been able to devise can be found to exist in full perfection among the so-called lower animals. From promiscuity, through union simply for the mating season, to polygamy, polyandry

and, finally, monogamy and monandry, every possible phase and form of the institution can be studied outside of the human species. The same results appear to have been reached by experiment here as in our own species, namely, that in proportion as the species rise in the scale of aggressiveness and intelligence, promiscuity, or mere mating-season union, tends to disappear and either a lasting form of polygamy, or, more frequently, a fairly well settled form of monogamy, in many cases even lasting for life, is reached.

There is an absolutely unbroken series of these ties and relations, beginning with the earliest appearance of young needing parental care. The earlier stages may be dismissed with the simple statement that originally and for millions of generations in the process of evolution sex did not exist at all. The primitive organism was first non-sexual, reproducing by the simple process of fission or dividing into two, and next bisexual, or, as it is sometimes termed, hermaphrodite. Then came, as a division of labour, an exclusively female organism, forming and depositing the ova, or eggs, which were then fertilised by the male in the "nest" or pool in which they were deposited; and finally full union of the sexes.

We might, perhaps, delay long enough to note that some form of conjugal union occurs even before this last; inasmuch as the male of several species, for instance, the stickleback, takes an active part in the building of the nest, in which the eggs are to be deposited, and afterwards assists the female in guarding the eggs from their natural enemies until hatching occurs. The males of the sea-horse (*Hippocampus*) and the pipe-fish (*Syngnathus*) hatch the eggs in external pouches. Indeed, in a number of species, and even whole genera of fishes, the salmon, for instance, this protective duty is performed exclusively by the male, the female's responsibility having ended when the eggs are deposited. I have watched the great thirty-pound dog-salmon hanging in the swift current of the rapids of the Great White Salmon River, where it pours its icy flood into the Columbia, hovering over the shallow basins, scooped in the gravel and boulders, in which the female salmon has deposited her eggs, and chasing away their deadliest enemies, the semi-cannibal trout. Not only may the females be seen rooting among the stones of the river bed, like so many pigs, to scoop out these nest-beds, but old fishermen assure me that early in the season the males who arrive first set to work at the same task, and by the time the females come have nests all ready for their use. With that touch of nature which makes the whole world kin, the male who has the finest "house" to display will, probably, capture the handsomest mate, just as in *Vanity Fair*, and so fierce are the contests for the choicest "building sites" that the whole rapids are churned into foam by the struggles of the huge silver-bodied fellows. Some are even killed outright; but most of the vanquished push on, sullenly, further up the stream, to settle on the

next rifle-bed and wait for a second choice of mates among such females as have not been captured by the victors below.

Even more graceful and picturesque is the sight of our little rainbow-hued blue sun-fish as he floats in the shallows of an Adirondack lake over the laboriously-scooped basin in the yellow sand in which his mate has laid her eggs. Every one of his prismatic colours glitters in the June sunshine, every spine of his shimmering fins and frills bristles with pride and pugnacity, as he hovers and circles above his treasure, ready to fly at anything less than three times his size that may come near. So that in one sense the father is as ancient an institution, biologically, as the mother. Indeed, conscious, voluntary care of the young is exercised earlier by the male than by the female.

With the exception of the higher insects and crustaceans, all invertebrates and all vertebrates below the higher fishes are in this condition of un-united sexes. In this stage, with the exceptions mentioned, the young receive practically no parental care whatever, even the mother's responsibility ending with the deposition of the eggs, the reason apparently being that their organism is so simple that they are capable of starting in the world for themselves without special protection. Or, perhaps, to put it more correctly, they are produced in such enormous numbers that even without any parental care a sufficient number can survive to continue the race.

As soon as we cross the line of the higher fishes and enter the classes of amphibians and reptiles we find a state of sexual congress established, and the beginnings of parental care, which devolves almost exclusively upon the mother. The union of the sexes lasts merely through the pairing season, and the mother is responsible for the care of the young. Even at this level the rule has some curious exceptions, as, for instance, among certain toads, in whom the eggs, after being deposited by the female, are actually brooded over and hatched by the male; in one species (*Rhinoderma Darwinii*) in the interior of his huge mouth, or croaking sacs; and in another (*Alytes obstetricans*) by being wound in strings about his body, and literally incubated, by being kept cool and moist.

This type of conjugal union is exceedingly wide-spread and covers a long period in the evolution of marriage. In fact, it may be said to be almost universal throughout the amphibians and reptiles and the lower mammals, extending, indeed, into some of the higher species of the latter.

The lowest stage at which the conjugal tie becomes really analogous to human marriage is reached in the birds and the higher mammals, in which both parents assume a certain degree of responsibility for the care of the young, although this, as a rule, is decidedly limited on the part of the male. It is a curious fact, and one which has never yet been adequately explained, that this phase of parental

protection is more highly developed in birds than in the mammals, who are in other respects higher. The great majority of male birds play quite an active and prominent part in the protection of the female and the care of the young. The union is usually for a comparatively long period; in some instances actually reaching the highest human stage, and lasting as long as life itself does. In mammals, on the other hand, only a few of the highest have reached the pitch of paternal protection of the young for more than the very briefest period, and absolutely none of them, except man, the higher apes, and some monkeys, have bound themselves to a union lasting throughout life. The progress of the forms of combination of the sexes might be expressed in the statement that the accumulations of racial experience tend to show that by the production of a smaller and smaller number of offspring and the expenditure upon these of a greater amount of parental care, better results can be obtained in efficiency and capacity for survival.

We have living examples of every possible stage of the solution of this problem, from the production of eggs by hundreds of thousands, as in the insects and the fishes, with absolutely no parental care and a loss from enemies of ninety-five per cent., through the intermediate types of mammals, with their broods of from six to a dozen members, and with an infant mortality of probably not more than fifty per cent., up to the highest mammals, including man, with but a single offspring at a birth and an infant mortality of twenty per cent. And we believe that almost every individual instance will be found to be explainable by conformity to this law, in so far as circumstances permit; each progressive organism giving the greater amount of care and protection to the young, and thus causing the race to grow and progress; while each retrogressive or degenerate organism gives a smaller amount of parental care than is necessary to maintain the race at its level.

This, of course, is an exceedingly crude and dogmatic sort of statement, for the influences which determine a particular course of action on the part of an animal are almost as complex as those which may do so in our own species. It is an open question whether those animals whose warmer and more altruistic tendencies caused them to give greater care and protection both to the mother and to the young gradually succeeded better in the struggle for life, leaving more offspring inheriting these tendencies and intensified in them by longer experience and transmission,—which is my own personal belief,—or whether those animals which, from the furious pressure of the struggle for existence, were unable to spare enough time and energy from a bare preservation of their own lives to give their young proper care and attention were gradually eliminated, leaving those who were, so to speak, "rich" enough to spend more time upon this in possession of the field; or, whether, as the race progressed and the individual became more complex, fertility began to fail, and

those who did not supplement this waning fertility by additional assiduousness in the care and protection of their young gradually went to the wall. All these questions are impossible of positive answer, and I ought, perhaps, here to apologise for the apparent dogmatism of my own statements, as this is largely forced upon me by the limitations of space and time, and is intended merely to indicate those positions which seem most rational and tenable to me, leaving every other observer, or reader, to hold and define his own in like manner.

Now that we have reached the stage of the union of the sexes for a definite, even though brief, period, and a certain amount, however small, of parental care and responsibility for the welfare of the offspring, I should like, very briefly, to glance over the factors and conditions which seem to control the further development of conjugal relations.

The first fact which stands out clearly, is that while all forms of union are to be found among birds and animals, an overwhelmingly large majority of these are monogamous. I am well aware that this statement will be received with a good deal of incredulity, as the impression appears to prevail, in most circles outside of biological, that either promiscuity or polygamy is the prevailing form. I can only account for this impression by the fact that most of our domestic animals are, as a rule, polygamous, or even, as in the case of the dog, promiscuous. How much of this looseness of morals is due to their association with man, or the changed conditions under which they are placed I shall not attempt to say. But it is precisely this free interfertility and recklessness of mating that has had more to do with determining the question, what animals were capable of domestication, than almost any other. The power to breed freely and under all circumstances in captivity is, in my judgment, the most important single qualification for domestication. How few animals possess this quality is clearly shown by the exceedingly small number of species which have ever been, taking the whole world over, brought into really domestic relations with man. The fingers of the two hands would almost cover them. It is in no way because they are fiercer, or more intelligent, or stronger beasts of burden, or have better flesh, or fatten more readily or stand climatic changes better. The one thing which alone has prevented the domestication of magnificent forms like the zebra, eland, elk, giraffe, tiger, bison, and hundreds of others, is that they either refuse to breed in captivity or rapidly become sterile after a few generations. One thing is certain, that almost every animal that walks or flies has at one time or another been captured by man and attempted to be domesticated, but out of the total number a mere handful survives. So that we should be chary of judging the natural habits and tendencies of all animals by those of the few species whose rank fertility and unlimited capacity

for promiscuous interbreeding has fitted them for survival under domestication.

Further, in the case of certain animals, notably the pig, from an exceedingly close monogamist, with a union lasting probably for life, and one of the best and most attentive of fathers, he has become as promiscuous and indifferent as a modern clubman. A similar change has taken place in the dog, if, as seems almost certain, he is civilised wolf.

To begin first of all with the mammals, as they rank lower than the birds in this respect, we find the majority of them practising a form of union which might best be described as an exceedingly short-lived monogamy. The sexes come together during, and for a brief time succeeding, the period of courtship, and then separate altogether for a number of months in some cases, and in others for the entire remainder of the year. Many of them, however, tend to come together again after the young have become large enough to run by the mother's side, in which case a sort of social organisation prevails in which the older males assume the protection of the females and the young. This form of union extends up into some of almost the highest organisms in the order, as, for instance, the great family of the deer and antelopes. The lower type of this form of union, with a permanent separation after the period of courtship, is that followed by the great majority of rodents,—rats, rabbits, squirrels and the like; although even in families of these, as, for instance, in the case of the beaver, it will be found grading up into higher forms, in which the male parent not merely builds in advance a house or nest, but takes quite an active part in the feeding and protection of the young and of the female. The same form prevails among the lower classes of the carnivora, as in the great bear group, including the racoon and the badger; and appears to exist among the lower monkeys and lemurs. In most of these the protection of the young appears to be effected by concealment. The mother either dwells in a burrow, as among the rats, squirrels, rabbits, racoons and badgers, or retires to some secluded spot in a swamp or forest, as in the deer and the monkey; hence, the presence of the male parent is not necessary to safety. Indeed, in some cases it would rather endanger than otherwise. In several of the rodents, like the rat, the rabbit and the squirrel, we meet with a strange and complete perversion of the paternal instinct, which leads the old male to kill the young if he finds the nest. The same strange vice occurs in weasels, stoats, minks and skunks.

This form of union covers a large majority of all the different species of mammals. From this the course of marital development appears to diverge in nearly two parallel lines, one of which reaches a distinctly higher level.

First comes the monogamous union, lasting during a longer or shorter proportion of the period of dependence or immaturity of the

young ; the other is the polygamous. I place the polygamous union, as the grade above the monogamous union during courtship, for the reason that it usually involves a greater amount of parental responsibility and a higher grade of intelligence on the part of the young ; reaching in fact, in some instances, a standard almost level with that of the highest type of monogamy. A condition of affairs which, it is needless to say, can be perfectly paralleled in human experience, some anthropologists going so far as to dispute the statement that monogamy is a higher type of marriage than polygamy, from an economic point of view.

Inasmuch as the monogamous form is the one which has persisted most commonly in our own species, we will take up the polygamous form first.

This form of union is of a distinctly higher type than any that has preceded it, both because it involves much care and thought on the part of the male, compelling a higher degree of development on his part, and also because it involves the aggregation of individuals in groups of considerable size, many of which are permanent, thus promoting both intelligence, co-operation, and the division of labour generally. Also because it involves a very keen degree of competition between rival males for the possession of the harem, thus weeding out, or diminishing the number of offspring from the weaker and less attractive males. So that polygamy, as a racial institution, among animals, as among men, has many solid and weighty considerations in its favour, and has resulted, in both human and prehuman times, in the production of a very high type of both individual and social development. In fact, it is perhaps to be questioned whether, in the human family at least, almost all races who have attained a high degree of the monogamous type of civilisation have not at some period passed through a polygamous stage.

As to the type of organism produced by this form of union, instances are so many and so well known that we need hardly refer to them. Some of our most magnificent types of animals, both in physical perfection, in intelligence, in energy and in devotion to their young, are to be found among polygamists. The zebra, the wild stallion, the mountain ram (of whom Krag of the Kootenays is not an overdrawn type), the elk, the elephant, the bison and the fur seal, are amongst the most striking and familiar examples of physical perfection, vigour and intelligence in the animal kingdom. There is, of course, within the group a wide variation of form of union, ranging from a brief and exceedingly stormy period of fighting for and protecting the female and the young, on the part of the successful male, as in the case of the fur-seal, through a union lasting about half the season or until the young are fairly well able to take care of themselves, as in the case of the caribou and the bison, up to an institution which lasts not merely the year around but until the death or defeat of

the dominant male, as in the case of the elephant, the zebra, the wild horse and wild or range cattle. The chief factor in the degree of success attained by polygamy seems to be the enormously increased preference given to the most vigorous or brilliant male, enabling him to leave a larger number of descendants to inherit his characteristics than would have been possible under any monogamous form of union, and proportionately to diminish the racial influence of the less vigorous and less attractive or less intelligent males. In other words, it simply increases the racial influence of the more aggressive and vigorous portion of the males. Its defects, however, are many, and, again, almost identical in the animal and in the human divisions. First, that the superior male, not being limited to one female, is much more indiscriminate in his choice of mates; human harems are usually composed of at least from fifty to seventy-five per cent. of slaves and purchased women. Second, that where the care of the father is of any value in training or assisting in the education of the offspring this cannot be exerted to anything like the same degree in polygamy as in monogamy. And, third, while in many ways the struggle for survival by eliminating the unfit is a factor of the greatest advantage and value, yet in a polygamous household or group, whether animal or human, the death or defeat of the original patriarch is often followed by an amount of internecine strife and slaughter which is disadvantageous and wasteful from a racial point of view.

Monogamy, though a slower process and giving the dominant male a smaller proportionate excess of offspring, results more steadily and surely in the production of a higher and more effective type of offspring, which, in the hundreds of generations which nature takes for the production of any important changes, tells with the certainty of fate. A monogamous race will invariably, in the long run, defeat a polygamous.

This brings us to the last group of mammals, smaller than either of the preceding, in which the monogamous conjugal relation exists during practically the entire period of dependence of the young, with paternal responsibility very well marked and developed. This exists among all the higher carnivora, the tiger, lion, leopard, wolf, fox and jackal, in the wild boar, some antelopes, a few of the rodents (beaver), the whales and some forms of seal, and is present among the higher monkeys and anthropoid apes. As would be required, if my argument be valid, this group maintains beyond question probably both the highest average of intelligence and decidedly the highest individual intelligences, namely, the wolf and the monkey, which are anywhere to be found outside of the human species. The duration of the union varies widely, but is always found closely dependent upon the period required by the young to reach the stage where they are able to take care of themselves. In the wolves and foxes, for instance, the union lasts until such time as the cubs are able to catch game for

themselves, although in many cases it seems to continue even beyond this and to last for a number of years, if not for life. There is a general impression among field naturalists and trappers that many of these animals, having once paired, come together again in the succeeding seasons, although they may be widely separated during the intervening part of the year. Indeed, some of them positively declare that the union among wolves, foxes, panthers, lions and seals is practically for life. In few species, however, does it terminate until the expiration of the period required for the young to become able to shift for themselves. In some of these, like certain wolves, the father practically disappears during the nest period of the young, but joins the family again when the cubs are able to run. In our nearest relatives, the higher apes, the form of union attained is very high indeed. The gorilla or the chimpanzee, for instance, will build a sort of platform or nest up in the tree for his mate and young ones, he himself sleeping on the ground at the foot of the tree, ready to protect the family from any attack. When either one of a pair of the higher apes is killed or wounded, the other will, in the case of the female, hang round in a state of pitiful excitement, which generally results in her being captured or killed by the enemy, or in the case of the male, will attack with reckless and tremendous fury any individual, or party, no matter how large, that may have injured or killed his mate or young. And while we are probably inclined to endue in advance these great apes with a somewhat higher degree of intelligence than that actually possessed, on account of their curious and strikingly human appearance, yet leaving all such prejudices as these apart, indeed, after making full allowance for them, there is no question whatever that they possess a higher type of intelligence than any other animal below man.

The condition of affairs in birds seems to be even more perfect, though they are, so to speak, side-tracked in the course of vertebrate development, and form no part of the direct line of our descent. But while they, as a rule, stand much higher in regard to the term and devotion of their conjugal relationship than do mammals, and reach, on the one hand, a much higher pitch of lifelong devotion than that of any mammal except the anthropoid apes and man, on the other hand they also fall farthest below the standard and into an almost absolute and licentious promiscuity, as in the case of the swamp blackbirds and some of the cuckoos. Roughly speaking, however, probably ninety per cent. of them are monogamists of a rather high type, the father taking a heavy and active share of responsibility for both the mother and the young, while perhaps ten per cent. are polygamous.

The strength and purity of the conjugal relation in birds is so familiar a fact in life and theme in literature, that it is entirely unnecessary to dwell upon it here. It may, perhaps, be said, simply

as a matter of justice to the apparently lower-minded and more selfish mammals, that a considerable share of it seems to be due to the fact that the young must be incubated outside of the body, and that a suitable nest must be prepared, enlisting the services of both parents; nothing of the kind, of course, being required among mammals. Again, the young when deposited in the form of eggs have to be incubated by the mother in such a manner as to involve a considerable amount of increased risk of attack from enemies, and also as seriously to interfere with her ability to secure a proper amount of food for herself during this time.

Finally, the young, when they appear, develop to maturity in such an exceedingly brief period that the services of both parents are most urgently and absolutely required in order to supply their needs. In other words, the form and duration of marriage again match pretty accurately the necessities of the situation. This is also interestingly shown by its variations under domestication. As already noted in the case of mammals, most domesticated birds are polygamous on account of the rank and irrepressible sexual vigour usually associated with this habit. Of all the swarms of luckless monogamous song-birds forcibly kept in captivity, thrushes, robins, bullfinches, larks, linnets, not one single species has consented to breed even moderately well in captivity, save that bleached and bloodless linnet, with blondined poll and ear-splitting voice, like a music hall favourite, the canary. Of hundreds of species kept in captivity only three have become genuinely domesticated and self-sustaining, fowls, ducks and geese. Of these, fowls are normally polygamous; while ducks and geese, originally monogamists, have become polygamists under the changed conditions of domestication. The purity of their original instincts in a state of nature is amusingly illustrated by an incident which a Harvard lecturer on biology was fond of relating to his classes. In an enclosure in a public garden were confined several pairs of different species of wild ducks, mallards, pintails and teals. All went well until early one spring one of the mallard ducks tired of her lawful spouse and conceived a violent fancy for a handsome pintail drake. He was at first obviously bored by her attentions, and having a wife of his own, indignantly repelled her advances for some time, but finally yielding to her flatteries he deserted his pintail spouse, thrashed the mallard husband in single combat and went off with the designing female. "Here, ladies and gentlemen," the lecturer would comment, drily, "you have all the ingredients of the 'modern society novel—excepting the temporary virtue of the pintail drake."

The few other species of birds which have been semi-domesticated, the pheasant, ostrich, quail and partridge, are all polygamous.

In striking contrast to the faithfulness and unselfish devotion of most bird marriages is the behaviour of those small groups who

possess the curious cuckoo habit of borrowing the nests of birds of their own, or other, species, in which to deposit their eggs; a case which, however, before we reprobate it too strongly, we must remember is strikingly analogous to that of the fine lady and the nurse-maid. A great variety of observers have expended much careful research upon this singular and anomalous habit, and while I would not for a moment presume to pronounce positively upon any point in this wide and difficult problem, in my opinion the later and more systematic studies of the habit which have been made, notably by Captain Bendire amongst the North American swamp blackbirds, or "cow-birds," and the American cuckoos, strongly indicate that one of the chief factors in its development is that cow-birds are promiscuous, if not polyandrous, and that cuckoos are probably polyandrous. Naturally, therefore, one female, receiving the attentions of half a dozen males, would have no time to waste on such an exceedingly tiresome occupation as nest building, nor would any of the gay gentlemen be likely to assist her in such a laborious task. But here again we have such an obvious parallel to the alleged state of affairs in the higher circles of fashionable society, that I almost hesitate to allude to it.

In the case of the cow-birds, as Captain Bendire's careful studies have shown, there can be no question that they are thoroughly promiscuous in their habits, both sexual and nest-building. One or more females will occupy the same nest and consort with half a dozen different males, and in several instances Captain Bendire seems to have been able to detect the beginning of the true cuckoo habit in the depositing of eggs by odd females, who may be regarded as lazier or more intelligent according to the point of view of the observer, in the nest of the other birds, thus avoiding altogether the unpleasant necessity of nest-building and incubating. While this explanation is advanced with the greatest diffidence, it does seem to give a fairly rational account of the nature and genesis of the cuckoo habit. Here, again, the marital relations correspond exactly to the necessities of the case, there being no eggs to be incubated or young to be reared, practically no conjugal relation save that of sexual congress exists.

The group of polygamous birds is a well-known one. For some curious reason a majority of these are found in one great family, the Gallinæ, comprising the domestic fowl, the partridges, pheasants and grouse. It is in these forms, as also among polygamous mammals, that the most striking contrasts as to size and vigour appear between the sexes. Some of the most brilliant and beautiful birds known are to be found among the males of this polygamous group. Its defects, however, are even more striking than among mammals, and no member of any polygamous group has succeeded in attaining either the degree of vigour and fighting proclivities reached by the monogamous hawk, king-bird or sparrow, or that of the intelligence attained by the monogamous magpies, mynahs and parrots.

Finally, we have a very highly-developed group, prominent among monogamists, in whom the union lasts not merely during the period of immaturity of the offspring but all through life. This is the case, for instance, with the whole dove and pigeon family. When once a pair of pigeons have been mated they may be safely placed in a cote containing hundreds of other pairs, without any danger of mixture of strain. Indeed, it has been the utilisation of this peculiarity which has enabled fanciers to produce such marked and brilliant variations in form, size and colouring, in birds of such purely monogamous habits as the domestic pigeons.

The same is believed to be true of the horn-bill, that devoted husband, who walls up his wife, with her eggs, in a hollow tree, by means of a mud cement carried in his bill, leaving barely space for her to push out the tip of her beak, and supplies her with both food and water during the entire period of incubation and infancy. It is also true of many of the parrots, reaching one of its most familiar forms in the well-known "Love-bird," or grass parakeet of Madagascar, which will mope away and die if deprived of its mate. And it is believed by careful observers to be true of a number of familiar garden and orchard birds, such as the Robin, the Oriole, the Thrush, the Magpie, and even the raven and the moping Owl.

This, then, brings us to primitive man, standing in his newly-acquired, erect position upon the threshold of ancient experience; and the first point to be considered is, toward what form of conjugal union will his ancestral experience, hitherto acquired, dispose him?

It seems to me there can be only one, monogamy, of a high type. Important as is the part played by polygamy in the development of the animal world, it has never been practised by any of the forms which are generally believed to have come in the line of the descent of man, and forms no portion of the stem of his family tree, or instincts. To trace it rapidly backward, the anthropoid apes are monogamous to a high degree, probably for life; the monkeys are also monogamous, but in a relation of less duration; as also the lemurs. The insectivora, to whom our next link was probably near allied, although occasionally approaching to promiscuity, were never polygamous. The same is true of our marsupial and monotreme ancestors; while, of course, neither the labyrinthodonts, nor the reptiles, who come next in the line of descent, are capable of such a development. So that I think we should be perfectly safe in saying that primitive man, although with certain promiscuous proclivities in his blood, would be decidedly, by age-long training, disposed toward monogamy of a rather high type.

WOODS HUTCHINSON.

ABSOLUTE MONARCHS *VERSUS* FREE PEOPLES.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY REACTION

THE twentieth century seems destined to witness a noteworthy break in the continuity of European, perhaps of human progress—a break which, unlike that of 1579 or 1814, may prove lasting and mark a wholly new departure in State systems, international relations and social strivings. Among the most manifest tokens of this coming change are the ebb of moderate liberalism in the domain of politics, philosophy and religion and the growing strength of a reactionary movement which guided by statesmanlike sagacity and upheld by formidable military power, bids fair to give at least a new impress to the existing order of things and principles which are now recognised as a temporary compromise between those of the French Revolution and those of mediæval feudalism. In other words the recoil which naturally follows the great liberal movement is being systematically intensified, regulated and made subservient to a deliberate scheme and the means by which this scheme is being carried out are uncommonly varied and seemingly efficacious. At the same time the situation is complicated by the rise of new factors whose influence is as yet but imperfectly gauged, and by the successful efforts of certain of the old ones to extend their sphere of action. Thus the American people, no longer content with the rôle of a disinterested onlooker, is minded to bear an active and prominent part in shaping the course of the world's politics. Again, Japan has at a single bound taken a foremost place among the organising forces of the future. And, on the other hand, the direct influence of Russia and Germany upon Western affairs is already making itself felt even in the domestic policy of their weaker neighbours, forcing upon them a clumsy readjustment of their free institutions to the requirements of the new political and social forms.

A struggle between the two tendencies has already begun, upon the

outcome of which hangs not so much the balance of power, the hegemony of a continent or the fate of an empire, as the question of the mould in which future civilisation will be cast. The striking characteristics of the present conflict—besides the nature and magnitude of the issues involved—are on the one hand the vast odds against the liberal side, whose leaders regard human progress as the effect of a natural law operating continuously and unfailingly, and on the other hand the firmness, forethought and confidence with which the forces of the reaction are being marshalled and led. Unlike most great changes in the history of human culture, the coming transformation is being wrought consciously and deliberately. Heretofore the prominent men whose life-work summed up for the historian the strivings of an epoch were in truth unconscious actors in a grandiose drama, only one episode of which interested themselves. While pursuing their individual ambitions or following their natural bent they indirectly influenced the destinies of the race. But the *dramatis personæ* of to-day construe their several parts very differently: taking extremely long views and setting themselves wide-reaching aims, they push far beyond the sphere of the statesman and seek to play the rôle hitherto reserved to providence or fate.

But briefly and crudely the position is this. The source of the present reactionary movement is Eastern Europe, where the Tsardom has realised and the Kaiserthum is striving to realise a type of society in which the State is omnipotent, manipulating all existing levers of power, and the ruler is identified with the State. In the political community thus remodelled the Government—and in last analysis its sovereign chief—is to the people what Nietzsche's "Overman" is to the race. It is a law at once unto all others and unto itself. It alone defines right and wrong, and from its canons there is no appeal even when, as in the matter of duelling, they run counter to morality and set religion at naught. It controls education, influences the administrators of justice no less than the "lawgivers"; curtails until it can conveniently abolish popular liberties, directing its main efforts against electoral institutions; treats religion and the Press as branches of the police; acquires a monopoly of great industries; supersedes wealthy trusts; makes invidious distinctions between class and class, condemning as crimes in one section of the nation acts which it rewards as virtues in another; at home it forcibly assimilates all the foreign elements of the nation, suppressing their nationality, penalising their customs, forbidding their languages, and abroad it imposes by pressure or surreptitiously introduces by suasion the maxims of the reaction, and it digs a wider abyss between the overlord and his subjects than that which yawns between God and man. In Russia this political system—the growth of centuries of abnormal conditions—has taken firm root; it is Germany's hotly pursued but unachieved aim; Austria, Turkey and the Vatican translate as many of its

principles into practice as they deem advantageous or safe; and it is ardently longed for by all Continental monarchs, whose ideal of a ruler is the almighty Tsar.

Russia is the centre and citadel of absolutism, which no storm of revolution has ever yet shaken or menaced. Hence rulers, shorn of the halo of divine right and bereft of the prerogatives which it alone confers, still turn their longing gaze towards that Mecca of monarchism where one man can truly say: *l'Etat c'est moi*. Whatever opinion they may have formed of the personal character of the present occupant of the throne of Peter, they feel nought but admiration for the institution of the Tsardom. Its vast strength is manifested by the impunity with which it perpetrates such folly and injustice as would ruin the most solid monarchy of the West. It proudly scorns to make any compromise with the modern spirit, even to the slight extent of dealing in formulas in order to avoid dealing in solutions. It can even dispense with the wise precaution which reactionary Westerns hold to be a necessity—of enlisting intelligence in the service of despotism and imitating the forms of justice and equity while eliminating the substance. It discards the fundamental principle of every monarchy that the ruler's personal and dynastic interests should not be incompatible with those of his people. In a word it still enjoys the pristine privilege of being naked and unashamed.

No lay institution on the planet therefore can compare with the Autocracy of Russia. It may be fairly described as a vast political pyramid with ignorance and slavery for its base and dreamy omnipotence for its apex. Even the Roman Catholic Church in its palmiest days was hampered by the laws of God and opposed by the rebellious spirit of men. But the Tsardom knows no barriers, human or divine. In virtue of a celestial dispensation all the schemes it conceives are permissible. Championing the Gospel abroad, it can conscientiously fight side by side with Turkish Mohammedans against Armenian and Macedonian Christians. At home it is the be-all and end-all of individual and national existence. It presides at the birth of the subject like the embodiment of fate weaving the threads of his life, determining his religious beliefs and enwrapping him in a dense gray atmosphere which clings to him until the day of his death. Upon the bulk of the nation it imposes a system of caste by means of laws, the meshes of which are as fine as if woven by Arachne. Thus the peasant as a rule is tied to the soil as was his grandfather the serf, but unlike his progenitors he has no interested owner to feed him when the crops fail. He may live or die as Providence or chance wills, but he must work while his strength lasts to fill the coffers of the State. His life is bare of joys less gross than the delusions of the dipsomaniac and bereft of hopes less remote than the bliss of the life to come. He dwells together with cattle in filthy

dens where even animals slowly perish, and while his children are vainly crying for bread his rulers are boasting to the world that their gold reserves are the greatest the world ever saw. His grown-up sons are drafted to the war to be blotted out of existence, while the numerous Grand Dukes of the Imperial house, whose luxury is purchased by his necessities, flaunt their ribbons, stars and medals in the fashionable restaurants of the capital and shrink from facing the enemy on the battlefield.

And as the Tsardom deals with the individual, even so it treats the nation. Lack of land is one of the causes of the poverty of the people, yet the greatest landowner in the Empire is the State. Want of employment sends thousands of recruits to the barefoot army of the despairing described by Maxim Gorky, yet the State is the great employer of labour. Railways, telegraphs, gold mines, distilleries, public-houses are all the property of the Tsar, and whatever calling those Russians may select, to whom the privilege of choice is accorded, they cannot escape from the fiat of the few who shape the lives of all. As ignorance renders men plastic, enlightenment is penalised. Hence to learn to read is a boon denied to the majority. Even to many of those who have legally or surreptitiously acquired it, classical works of Russian literature are strictly forbidden and are rigorously banished from such libraries as private philanthropy occasionally places within their reach. The only solace left to the thoughtful among them is that which religion has to offer. And even here the shape of the monster autocracy blurs the beatific vision and looms large between the pitiable creature and his God. Conscience must hearken to the voice of the Tsar to whom the soul no less than the body is subjected. "Believe in God" means "obey the officials." Therefore Nonconformity in religion connotes treason in politics, and is punished by imprisonment, Siberia or the madhouse. The national clergy, like the Press and the schools, is an organised branch of the police. Even its sermons on high festivals are first submitted to the censor; from the police in Russia there is no refuge, not even at the altar of God.

With foreign races and unorthodox Churches, even when possessed of higher culture and stronger organisation, the Procrustes of autocracy makes equally short work. And not without a show of reason. Why should strangers and heretics be set above Russians and true believers? The Armenian community was recently despoiled of its Church endowments to which the Russian Government had not the shadow of a right. Catholics and Uniates* have been driven by the thousand into the Orthodox fold with the flick of whips like sheep into a pen. Buddhists and Lamaists have been periodically gathered in by the police, stripped stark naked and hunted into the shallow parts of rivers to be baptised in batches. All Unorthodox Churches lose

* Roman Catholics who employ the Oriental liturgy and practise Oriental observances while remaining in communion with the Pope.

thousands of members yearly by the operation of the mixed marriage law. The annals of the Jews and the Poles are writ in blood and fire. Foreigners who visited the Baltic provinces or the districts of Lithuania a quarter of a century ago would hardly recognise them to-day. The country roads once smooth and unbroken abound in holes and ruts; the bridges are shaky; the streets of towns and villages are filthy; the administration is slow and slovenly; in a word, everything has been Russianised. And in Finland the same process has already begun. The industrious, orderly and loyal people who made the Principality an ideal State are being violently dragged down into the Muscovite Slough of Despond. Some of their foremost administrators, their chief men of letters, of business, and of industry have been taken from their beds and without trial or charge banished from their homes and their country. Their Constitution which the Tsar had sworn faithfully to respect has been annulled by a stroke of the Imperial pen, and a timely warning has been given to Sweden, Norway, Bohemia, the Balkan peoples and other political flies who are bidden to walk into the parlour of the spider.

The honied words of praise for law and liberty, which one hears now and again from eminent Russians abroad are but the "pretty things" which the spider dangles before the eyes of the wavering fly. By its fruits, not by its promises or professions, should the Autocracy be judged. And those might be classed with the Apples of the Dead Sea Shore were it not that their very appearance is so often repulsive. The Autocracy was but polished and lacquered by Peter who equipped Eastern despotism with Western appliances. He journeyed to Europe and brought back not liberal institutions, but a recipe for raising good soldiers and constructing formidable battleships. He may have aimed at Europeanising Russia, but he succeeded only in covering the nakedness of Asia with garments woven in the West.

It is computed that over 4,000,000 soldiers are ready to fight for the interests of the Tsar against those of all mankind, not excepting their own. Even now a noteworthy fraction of this number is bearing witness to the truth of the statement. For the campaign against Japan is diametrically opposed to the peasant's interests. It involves an enormous waste of his substance, for which he will never receive any return. It means the loss of tens of thousands of the best specimens of his own class for the greater glory of its oppressor. And against these losses there is no set off. For even if Manchuria were annexed by Russia, the land would not fall to the *mooshik*. It is already owned, tilled and occupied. Worse still, the foodstuffs which it yields in abundance would compete with and lower the prices of the produce of his own land, while his position would be still further aggravated by the fall in the wages of labour which would result from the keen competition of Chinese workmen. And over and above these evils this "peasant's victory" would strengthen the hand of the ruling class which

already weighs heavy upon him and his. Yet in spite of all this, he goes on lightheartedly cutting sticks for his own back. For one man to have millions of his fellows thus ready for his sake to risk death in order to benefit their enemies and ruin themselves and their friends, is like having an Aladdin's lamp. The Autocracy is an episode in an Oriental fairy tale.

Thus with a thoroughness unparalleled in history does absolutism by the grace of God hitch the whole nation to its chariot, darken its vision, lower its ideals and thrive upon its substance. Army, navy, police, land, labour, liberal professions, education, Press, religion are all so many levers in the hand of the Autocrat who, were he a man of the calibre of Frederick the Great or Napoleon would conquer or "absolutise" all the nations of Europe.

But even in the hands of a clever and enterprising ruler like Kaiser Wilhelm a formidable State-machine modelled upon the Russian Autocracy would in truth be an Archimedean lever. That the Kaiser longs and strives after some such perfect political instrument is an open secret. Indeed, he has already partially fashioned one: even now in an Empire nominally constitutional and abundantly provided with kings, princes and popular assemblies interested in thwarting any attempts at absolutism, he is the sole depository of power. His velleity is a behest, his will is law. Parliamentary institutions shrink to the level of Government offices in his sight, science in his presence stoops not to conquer but to serve for a petty ribbon to put in its coat, painting and sculpture seek direction, music and poetry find inspiration in his words. And yet his ambition is still unsated, for even at his feast there is a gruesome socialist skeleton, and fiery writing is visible on the wall of his banqueting hall. German absolutism is not a permanent institution. It is his own personal creation, the form in which he works; with his disappearance, therefore, it will probably be disembodied. He yearns to see it crystallise into an abiding institution, capable of withstanding the onslaught of enemies and of surviving the blunders of friends. Universal suffrage for elections to the Imperial Parliament must, nay will, be abolished; social democracy will be fettered or suppressed, even though Russia's help may have to be called in. And to the realisation of those aims the Kaiser's strenuous efforts are steadily directed.

It is in Russia's interest that he should succeed. Autocracy can count only on the sympathy of Autocrats real or potential. A political island of absolutism cannot last for ever, washed by the stormy waters of revolution. Consequently, as the Great American Commonwealth instinctively fostered the republican and discouraged the monarchical State-form in the new world, so Russia at first instinctively and now deliberately and methodically favours the restoration of Autocracy in the old. The frank and naturally despotic Tsar Nicholas I. openly took sides for his brother kings against their rebellious peoples. Moved

by enlightened egotism he upheld the principle of divine right everywhere, and shaped his foreign policy in accordance with it. Nor did the help he proffered stop short at mere moral sympathy. He lavishly sacrificed his money and his troops in order to keep the Habsburg monarch on the throne, and having put down the Hungarian rebellion left nothing undone to coax or compel the Sultan to deliver up the chief rebel Kossuth to Austria and death. Alexander III. was another ardent champion of the Autocratic principle. And his devotion to that cause was the chief motive of the secret understanding which he made with Germany while he was still planning the Alliance with France.

To-day, when the Russian Autocracy under Nicholas II. has grown and spread like the mustard-seed of the Gospel, the most intelligent members of the party which governs in the shadow of the throne fashion their policy, domestic and foreign, congruously with its alleged needs. For the members of that party, as for Nicholas I., international relations, like every other line of State action, must be subservient to the interests of absolutism. For them, as for him, everything may go, if needs be, so long as the main source of strength—Autocracy by the grace of God—is intact. That is the one thing necessary. And conformably to this maxim, the late M. von Plehve, although only Minister of the Interior, claimed a voice in determining Russia's external relations, and insisted on carrying on the war *à outrance* until Japan should be finally beaten and crushed, as an indispensable condition of the maintenance of the Tsar's unlimited power at home.

Intimate friendship between Russia and Germany is therefore a practical corollary of the same political postulate. When Nicholas I. was Tsar there was no mighty Empire beyond the Russian frontiers eager to adopt the Autocratic principle and able successfully to spread it throughout the Continent. The Habsburgs, lacking the courage of their convictions and the implicit obedience of their subjects, substituted opportunism for statesmanship and lost half the battle. Since then, however, the outlook has radically changed, and now the prospects of the propaganda are bright and cheering. The German Emperor is become the Emperor of Germany. His foreign policy is as independent of popular control as his home administration is of the requirements of equity. He removes civil and military judges for carrying out the letter of the law when it happens to run counter to the spirit of absolutism, with as little hesitation as he visits the King of England at the height of his people's enthusiasm for the Boers. Nor is his unquestioned sway confined to the sphere of politics. Like his Russian brother, everything is fish that comes to his net, and he leaves no source of power untapped. In his narrower realm and beyond it the railways have been taken out of the hands of private companies. Those of Würtemberg and Bavaria will soon pass into the hands of the State. It was he who ordered the Prussian Minister of Commerce last August to buy up shares of the Hibernia Company and take it over

on behalf of the State, after having first allowed the country to be assured that nothing of the kind was contemplated, and it was with his knowledge that the negotiations were begun in an underhand manner, which shocked even the staunchest friends of the monarchy and defeated his ends. It was the German Kaiser who, when Professor Koch fancied that the bacillus of consumption had at last been brought under the microscope and could be rendered harmless by an infallible serum, conceived the statesmanlike idea of monopolising the efficacious remedy and bribing consumptive Germany by the boon of health to enter the camp of him who can kill as well as cure.

The Press, too, he shapes as the potter fashions clay. Hence "independent" journals blow hot or cold at his bidding, wax emotional or turn sarcastic at a signal from one of his officials. In a newspaper office black becomes white in a twinkling, and the sophists of decadent Greece would, if they lived to-day, go humbly to school to the journalistic hairsplitters of contemporary Germany. In honour of their overlord they compose eulogies which Julian or Libanius would have deemed fulsome if addressed to Solon or Plato. Thus on the occasion of his last birthday the most critical and reserved among the journals smothered the Emperor's name and deeds under a mountain of servile superlatives. One paper declared that his demise would imperil the peace of the universe; * another wrote: "The contrast between Kaiser and people connotes the superiority of the Kaiser;"† and a third assured its readers that "genius wanders in other ways than those of the multitude, and we may well give the name of Genius to the ruler whom foreign countries envy us."‡ And the coarsest forms of adulation are employed day after day when writing of the Kaiser by men of the highest culture whose theoretic views on popular liberty and on human dignity strike one by their elevation, and whose loathing for Byzantinism and courtly sycophancy finds biting expression when the idol or the worshippers are strangers to the fatherland.

The attitude of the German Press, with some noteworthy exceptions, is that of Humboldt at the Congress of Vienna in 1814, who in his writings was the mellifluous advocate of sublime ideals and in his diplomacy the embodiment of Prussian brutality. It was he who said to Talleyrand: "Might is right; we repudiate the law of nations to which you have appealed." As a German writer in the *Zukunft* puts it: "The contradiction between theory and practice stamps public life with the impress of dishonesty and renders the electors careless whether the world shall be cozened in the liberal, ultramontane or social democratic way."§

And the plasticity of the foreign Press is measured by the imperial German standard and tested by the traditional German methods.

* *Tägliche Rundschau*. † *Kölnische Zeitung*. ‡ *Braunschweigische Landeszeitung*. § *Zukunft*, 6th August, 1904, p. 239.

Foreign papers are subsidised with grants of money or swayed by social influences; foreign journalists are petted, "dined," supplied with "copy," and when this bait is not taken official pressure is brought to bear against obnoxious pressmen and in favour of their more docile colleagues. For the Imperial Government, which does not disdain to ask the Russian Foreign Office to send decorations to policemen, is not above preferring complaints and requests to newspaper proprietors. In Paris, Washington, Vienna, London and St. Petersburg the German Embassies have officials whose business it is to win over as many influential pressmen as possible.

Religion is also a channel of Imperial favour as well as of divine grace in the land of Biblical criticism and of Kantian philosophy. Unhappily its ministers cannot be yoked to the chariot of State so readily as in the Tsardom, but they can at least often be animated and impassioned to a point at which they impulsively unyoke the horses and draw the equipage. Catholicism is petted and caressed in the persons of its supreme head in Rome and its prominent leaders in Germany. New faculties are created in the Universities for its professors, who are chosen among men of political influence rather than of scientific eminence. Its bishops are singled out for tokens of Imperial favour and are raised to the purple by the head of the Catholic fold at the nod of the head of the Protestant Church. Lutherans are tenderly cared for by the "Landmother," the Empress, whose right hand man, Von Mirbach, extorts enormous sums from rich but unwilling Jews, unbelieving bankers and sceptical proprietors of great industries. And for the edification of both sects irreligion is felled with a strong hand, the war lord, in his capacity as supreme head of the Church, having laid it down that none but a Christian can be a brave soldier. Nor is his infallibility shaken by the unstinted praise which he lavishes on Mohammedan troops or the active help he extends to the anti-Christian policy of the Grand Turk. For he, too, like his Russian brother, subordinates his Christianity to the weal of his Imperial house.

The same thinly disguised motive underlies the relations of the Kaiser and the Pope. Wilhelm's sentiment for the successor of St. Peter, as evidenced by many and carefully selected tokens, seems to partake of profound veneration and warm affection. Cynics indeed, who are wont to compare it with his personal tenderness for the Sultan and his vicarious cruelty to the Christians of Armenia, Crete and Macedonia, hint that it is not unconnected with the quarrel between France and the Vatican. Human motives are unquestionably complex, but those persons who are most competent to appreciate the psychological principles involved and their bearing upon the present case hold that the Lutheran Emperor's love for the Catholic Pontiff is the outcome of the conviction that the absolute master of 270,000,000 human beings, who represents the principle of authority, would make

a helpful auxiliary even if he refused to become a willing tool. To plain, old-fashioned people, who still look upon religion as a well of wisdom higher than that of this world and a source of noble thoughts and worshippings in spirit, this playing fast and loose with the holiest possessions of European peoples seems a more powerful solvent of morality than the most blasphemous ravings of proselytising atheists.

"Absolutism by dint of violence and cajolery" is the definition of the present German *régime* which a Socialist lately put forward; "by dint of equilibration" would be a less offensive equivalent. The most striking features of the system are the brutal frankness with which unrighteous ends are pursued, the lack of ethical fastidiousness which marks the choice of means and the total absence of self-respect with which the "dirty work" of Russia is done. Germany has become the stoker of the Russian ship of State and is growing used to the smut and grime of the engine room. Her police are at the beck and call of the Orthodox Autocrat and of all continental monarchs, and their zeal sets them hunting for Russian criminals even before the Russian authorities have passed the word. True, they sometimes receive rebuffs in lieu of thanks, as was the case after the Königsberg trial, at which the Tsardom was held up to public execration. But they patiently endure a snubbing as part of the day's work. The Tsar's detectives and spies, with all their rag-tag and bob-tail of unsworn translators, *agents-provocateurs*, decoy-birds and suborners, are made free of the German Empire, where they set their traps and shadow their victims as freely as they would at home. Nay, they have permission to include subjects of the German Kaiser in their list of legitimate quarry. Thus at Königsberg six individuals were recently put on trial for high treason and *lèse majesté* committed, it was alleged, against the Monomachos of all the Russias. The German Press at once protested: the act was derogatory to the dignity of a great nation, men argued. Even some Conservative journals timidly disapproved. One of them wrote: "What a shabby part is being played by our German authorities, who, by inquiring whether a prosecution would be acceptable to Russia, positively force that country to proceed against Germans."* But the protest went unheeded. The trial was held and only Russia's prestige suffered. It seems hard to believe, but it is impossible to deny that the Kaiser's Government instructed the Ambassador in St. Petersburg to request Count Lamsdorff to bestow certain specified orders and decorations upon those members of the Prussian police who had unearthed German subjects who disapproved the principles or blamed the administration of the Russian Government. The staff of the Russian Foreign Office were, it is said, highly amused at this "breezy hardihood," but their chief shrugged his shoulders and ordered the rewards to be dispatched.

* *Strasburger Post. Frankfurter Zeitung.* 23rd February, 1904.

There would appear to be no limit to the Kaiser's eagerness to serve the cause of monarchy by the grace of God unlimited and irresponsible. Russians declare that he vied with M. von Plehve in earning the name of defender of the Autocracy. Some instances of his zeal indeed, were one authorised to make them public, would awaken a passing doubt in the reader's mind whether Wilhelm's impulse be in truth political or only pathological. But the impression caused by the public acts of his Government is profound enough. "Beetle baiting" is one of the most odious forms of persecuton practised in the Fatherland. It consists of watching all Russians who enter Prussia, in singling out those who are obnoxious to the Tsar's police, arresting them and then without trial or accusation expelling them from German territory. The procedure thus summarily described sounds arbitrary and harsh to Anglo-Saxon ears, but in reality it is more malignant still. For those ill-starred persons, many of them cultured men and women whose highest political ideal is a Government like that of Wurtemberg or Baden, are not simply ordered to quit the German Empire, they are conducted by the police *back into Russia*, where the Tsar's gendarmes, duly warned, are waiting to shut them up in prison or despatch them to Siberia. In other words, expulsion is wrongfully and illegally changed to extradition, when neither punishment is justified by the faintest trace of a crime. It is thus that law and equity are made light of by the monarch to whom Russians, jealous of his growing influence over their own ruler, give the nickname, "Tsar Vassily Feodorovitch." Autocracy, if we may ground an argument on those data, is to his mind one of those holy causes which sanctify any means employed to further them.

The common interests therefore of the respective dynasties of Tsars Alexandrovitch and "Vassily Feodorovitch" constitute a stronger bond of union than the parallel interests of their respective empires. Happily, however, these are believed to be comprised in those. Hence the foredoomed failure of the well-meant schemes of certain parties and politicians in Great Britain for the detachment of Russia from Germany with a view to an Anglo-Russian Convention. In truth they might just as well be stroking the dome of St. Paul's in the hope of soothing the Dean and Chapter. The very terms of the problem are often mis-stated and almost always misapprehended. The preliminary difficulty is how to sever the Romanoffs from the Hohenzollerns. And at present it seems insoluble: for even an Autocrat's skin lies closer to his body than his shirt; the fate of his family concerns him more nearly than the well-being of his Empire. And a free people like the British is but a broken reed for absolutism to lean upon. That is why in the politics of Russia and Germany the true mainspring of action is the welfare of the reigning houses, that being considered the indispensable condition of the prestige of the growing Empires. If Great Britain were governed as Germany is

governed, the statesmanship and tact of King Edward might indeed effect much towards an agreement with Russia; but one of the fruitful sources of the hatred which is felt by the Russian reading public for Britons and Americans is the loathing entertained by the Autocratic party for popular institutions, which is ingeniously transformed by officials into calumnies and insinuations and then mirrored by the Russian Press. And this race-hatred is sedulously fostered by Germany in a thousand ways of which Anglo-Saxon peoples can form no conception. Now it is a newspaper paragraph, now a rumour current only in Imperial circles of Berlin which leaks out "providentially" and is duly reported to the British Foreign Office as an important State secret, now it is a friendly warning sent from the Wilhelmstrasse to Count Lamsdorff, or, better still, through one of the Russo-German Grand Dukes or Duchesses to the Tsar himself.

And it can hardly be denied that Kaiser Wilhelm has attained results which seem to justify his efforts. The war with Japan and the reign of terror in the interior of Russia abounded in opportunities, each of which he utilised to the utmost. The sale of merchant steamers to be changed into Russian cruisers, the facilities offered for coaling, the services of the German Press and police, the generous offer to guarantee Russia's western frontiers if denuded of troops during the campaign, and the promise to throw the weight of the German sword into the scale of diplomacy at the close of the war, are all services which the Autocratic party and with them the Tsar are able to appreciate and willing suitably to reward. The Kaiser is alleged by Russians who are believed to know the facts and do not relish them, to sway the will of the Tsar more effectively than any or all of the Tsar's own Ministers. "We have two rulers now," a Russian *frondeur* recently remarked, "Nicolai Alexandrovitch and his suzerain 'Vassily Feodorovich,' and of the two, the rule of the latter is the more to be dreaded."

Nor is the Tsar the only monarch on whom the Kaiser tests his magnetic powers. No European King or Kinglet is wholly beyond the reach of his experiments, nor is any insensible to his arguments or indifferent to his example. *Noblesse oblige* and human nature is no less human when leavened by divine right than when left to its own sinful resources. A man will not turn away from a deal by which he may double his fortune simply because he is a millionaire. A Metternich is unable to resist the temptation to humiliate Napoleon even though the triumph entails the sacrifice of his Imperial master's interests, which it behoves him to further. And there is probably no constitutional ruler in Europe, not excepting Prince Henry XXIV. of Reuss, who would not eagerly seize a safe opportunity of becoming God's lieutenant to his people, of merging their interests in his own and razing all limitations to his authority. The venerable Kaiser of Austria, whose claims to the prerogatives of absolutism seem at least

to be founded on prescription and tradition and sanctioned by religious faith, needs the force of no arguments to stimulate him to an effort for a cause which is that of his conscience no less than of his person and his dynasty. The Habsburg Court and the powerful military and feudal group of nobles who rally round it form the nucleus of a party whose zeal for reaction, political and religious, would rival that of Philip II. of Spain. These people look to the Tsardom as the embodiment of the ideal which haunts them everlastingly. The Utopia of their day dreams is realised in the Empire on the other side of their frontiers, and they would not be human if they did not desire to see it similarly embodied among themselves. They feel it their duty, therefore, to strengthen each other, to play into each other's hands. One will not be surprised to learn that it was they who brought about the agreement with Russia on the Balkan question, or that, compelled to choose at home between Slav and German, they gave the preference to the Russophile Slav. The State linked together with the Church leading an obedient people to prosperity upon earth and to bliss in heaven is their conception of the community as it ought to be. A parenthesis opened by Satan in the history of God's earth is the view they take of the French Revolution and its consequences upon European politics. And neither in St. Petersburg nor in Berlin is there any misgiving that the Habsburgs can be depended upon to throw the weight of their power and influence upon the side of legitimacy and all that it implies whenever the need for their co-operation may arise. Thus the *esprit de corps* already existing among the illustrious figure-heads of the reaction is a standing menace to the reign of law among their subjects. A few weeks ago the Prussian Government refused permission to an Austrian Member of Parliament, M. Pernerstorffer to address a meeting in Frankfurt because his sympathies are frankly democratic, and before that they prosecuted one of their own newspapers for having published an article wanting in respect for the Majesty of the King of the Belgians. And yet scurrilous caricatures of King Edward were not only printed without remonstrance throughout Germany, but sold at the Royal station of Wildpark under the eyes of the Emperor King. And as Germany and Russia do to others, so they would be done by. That the Habsburgs, the Pope and the Sultan should fall in with the political views of the two Eastern Powers is natural.

The free nations of the Continent, however, might be supposed to form a strong barrier to the progress of the reaction. But in the present age of militarism the only trustworthy guarantee of institutions as well as the only sanction of treaties is the capacity of defending them by brute-force. And this as well as a lively sense of the danger threatening them those free nations lack. Hence their bulwarks of liberty, like the walls of Jericho, "fell down flat" at the sound of the Russian trumpet. Better, they shrewdly reason, lose a portion of our

domestic liberty than wholly forfeit our national independence. And that is the Damocles' sword which hangs over them by a single hair. Of this peril, Holland, Sweden, Norway, Bulgaria and other small States are keenly aware. "As we let you defeat France in 1870," Russia implicitly hints to Germany, "so we can help or hinder you *when* in the fulness of time you seek to draw the Dutch within the sphere of your influence. Holland is a nursery of subversive ideas, and when her hour has struck we can keep France busy and threaten Great Britain with the loss of India. And if we in turn should find it conducive to the peace of Europe to protect Sweden and Norway, we can both cry quits." It would be surprising if under these conditions the democratic States of continental Europe made even lip resistance.

Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Holland, possessing a free Press which fearlessly exercises its right of fair criticism and popular institutions which safeguard the liberties of the subject, are yet forced to withdraw that right and suspend the working of those institutions whenever Russia thinks fit, lest worse things befall them. Thus the Swedes, boiling with indignation at the doings of the Russian Star-chamber in Helsingfors, are obliged to smile and keep silence. At first their newspapers published the revolting facts and provided them with fitting comments. But then their own Government, yielding to pressure from St. Petersburg, stretched a point and proceeded to prosecute the editors for offending the sensibilities of a friendly nation—a friendly nation whose Press is never weary of indulging in venomous calumnies and spreading misleading reports about the conduct of the British Government. A Copenhagen journal* having published a lucid and true account of the Russian system of administration, the Russian Envoy at the Court of Denmark suggested the prompt application of the methods of Russian censorship to gag the Danish Press. And the Government of King Christian dared not dissent. The Minister of Justice thereupon ordered the editor to be prosecuted.

Of all continental States Holland enjoys perhaps the highest degree of liberty compatible with good order. There is no soil on the mainland less fitted for the cultivation of absolutism than that which has been wrested from the North Sea waves, and no people more jealous of their rights than the Dutch. And yet even that free people has had to allow the autocratic fiat of Nicholas II. to run in the realm without protest or remonstrance. The chief of the Amsterdam detective force, M. Batelt, attended the Socialist Congress held in that city last August, and offered a photographer there a considerable reward if he would take snapshots of the Russians present and make over the negatives to him. He wanted them, it was said, for his colleague, the head of the Russian detective force in Holland, who was

* "Klokken 12," edited by M. Opffer, who was cited before the police and called upon to reveal the author of seven articles.

drawing up a report ordered by the late M. von Plehve. Who, people asked, could have charged a Dutch official with such an unenviable mission? Inquiry elicited the fact that it was not the Mayor of the Capital, and it was finally ascertained that the freely elected Government of the people was responsible for these instructions. Thus far has the system of international terror radiated over Western Europe.* It is only natural that in the Balkan Peninsula the same dread of Russia should prevail with similar results. Even the high schools there are under the indirect control of the Russian Minister of the Interior to the extent that eminent professors like M. Paul Milukoff, who are merely disliked by the Russian police, but charged with no offence, are forced to resign their University chairs.

And to those nations which kick against the pricks and refuse to accept the autocratic institutions of Russia, punishment is applied when pressure fails. Switzerland, for instance, shrank from tolerating a system of Russian espionage which sought to work a *cabinet noir* in the Republic and intercept letters confided to the post. Soon afterwards her military attachés in Manchuria were for no fault of theirs publicly disgraced and bundled out of the country. Italy, in some respects as radical as Switzerland, was chastised in a way more exemplary still. After the Government, the Court and the nation had made elaborate and costly preparations for welcoming the Tsar, they were curtly told that His Majesty would not come, but hoped to pay the King a visit on some future occasion. And they meekly swallowed the thinly-disguised insult.

France's position is unique; it has been maliciously likened to that of Judas among the Apostles. As a nation she is mistrusted for sowing revolutionary ideas broadcast, but tolerated as the keeper of the money bags. As a Power she is regarded as a *quantité négligeable* and is slighted accordingly. Her milliards are so many hostages which she has given to Russia for her good behaviour. Autocracy possessed of the calf takes no further thought of the cow which, however plaintively it may low, is certain not to stray too far away. Diplomacy indeed is still courteous and smooth-tongued, but diplomacy in Holy Russia has ceased to be more than the framer and gilder of decrees which it no longer shapes. The real rulers of the Tsardom show scant consideration for the feelings of "Marianne." They figuratively tar and feather the French War Minister as a vulgar Nihilist, and vilipend the Cabinet which declined to oust him at their nod; they set slight store by the army since Dreyfus was pardoned, and they sneer at the "atheistical French Chamber which 'is waging war against God.'" Even the French Ambassador, a man of political insight and long views, is sometimes treated with a degree of discourtesy which Hayti would resent and Venezuela avenge.

* Cf. the principal Dutch papers of the 25th, 26th and 27th August, and in particular the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*, *Handelsblad* and *Het Volk*.

Recently a French lady who besought him to shield her from the ignominy of being unjustly expelled from Russia received his promise that he would not only intervene but save her at all costs. And he fairly sought to redeem his pledge. But M. von Plehve sent him humbled away by the mendacious assurance that she was a German spy. And there and then M. Bompard abandoned the lady's cause without further inquiry. It was a *chose jugée* and there was no appeal. But maddened by the insult which calumny had added to injustice the lady turned from the French Ambassador to a Frenchwoman who is the *bonne amie* of a Grand Duke. And the latter unceremoniously ordered M. von Plehve to withdraw his damning accusation and rescind his arbitrary order. There is a certain piquancy in the fact that the only French Ambassador who has enjoyed the respect of the rulers of Russia since Russia struck an alliance with France was a man who was always at loggerheads with his own Government, the Duc de Montebello. In a word, the disdain of an adventurer for his homely but once wealthy wife whose fortune he has squandered gives us the measure of the sentiment felt and displayed by Russia towards her Republican agnostic and democratic ally.

But if it was relatively easy to inoculate the third-class Powers of Europe with the ideas of the reaction, the task of engrafting them on the great democratic States on either side of the Atlantic bristled with formidable difficulties. To the Autocracy however almost all things seem possible, and the obstacles in the way only sharpened the ingenuity and stimulated the enterprise of the two lay popes of the new politico-Christian Church. And in truth their course of action was not devoid of clever strokes of strategy. For it was shaped with an eye to the fact that the reaction has allies everywhere present in the popular camp. The wave of moral feeling which once sustained the great liberal movement has subsided. The rank and file is struck by a strange numbness of ethical feeling, while the leaders seek salvation by faith, not by good works. They have no misgivings that mediæval despotism will ever prevail against the enlightened tendencies of the modern world, and are content to defend the achievements of science and culture with a pen against the sword. With the ebb of religious and social faith passionate hopes and energies have forsaken the natural chiefs of the democracies. Social ideals have been displaced by the worship of wealth, power, distinction, and the mighty institution which is the inexhaustible source of all these attracts and fascinates. Men love to feast their eyes upon its brilliancy, to bask in its warmth, to breathe its perfumed atmosphere, to share even for a brief space in some of its prerogatives. Almost every rich *parvenu*, every snob whose pulse throbs quicker at the sight of a lord, every camp follower of royalty is a partisan, nay, an apostle of the reaction. Not only therefore do the monarchs of continental Europe look upon the Tsar with feelings akin to those which thrill

the heart of every painter when he thinks of Raphael, but very many of the social magnates of Great Britain and America regard him as Catholics view their Sovereign Pontiff, as the incarnation of their ideals. Ever since Alexander I. entered Paris in triumph the mantle of the Grand Monarque has been worn by the Monomachos of Muscovy. He represents money, power, social distinction in their highest forms, and the seekers or possessors of these blessings, which add many cubits to modern man's stature, are arrayed on the side of the Autocrat of Russia.

Few phenomena more accurately characterise the moral temper, the soul-state of the present generation than this social and political idolatry. The soundness and vigour of its sympathies are to a large extent undermined by sordid aims, its resolution grows perceptibly weak, and certain symptoms of creeping paralysis may perhaps be otherwise explained but cannot be wholly denied. How else is the fact to be accounted for that the bulk of the French people, whose social and political ideals are comprised in the words liberty, equality and brotherhood, has its national consciousness suddenly transformed into passionate fervour for a brutal despotism, which if it were removed to Siam or Madagascar would be held to justify the despatch of an army to establish order in the name of humanity and the Great Republic? Or how are we to interpret the ecstatic rapture with which Radical Parliamentarians who exhale their enthusiasm for the weal of the British people in eloquent speeches in the House, piously pilgrimage to St. Petersburg during the Recess, and having prostrated themselves at the feet of the lay Pope of Autocracy return to lend their voices and their pens to the cause of the oppressor of the Finnish, Jewish, Polish, Armenian and Russian peoples? Whatever construction we may put on this spiritual and psychological state, it is one of the largest assets of the reaction and will be fully realised in due time.

And those manifestations are neither sporadic nor specifically national: portentous signs of the times, they are noticeable everywhere. Apostles of the absolute power of kings and the "footstool-ship" of peoples are of all nations. "If I have honey," says the Eastern proverb, "the flies will come even from Bagdad." And with "honey" the latter-day Autocrat is amply provided. Therefore enterprising journalists, incipient politicians, pushing captains of industry, money-making magnates and the ancient orders of snobbery and jobbery throughout the world bend their knees before the Grand Monarque. Even the model Republic, which has abolished kings in the New World, yearns for the privilege of kissing the hem of the King of Kings' garment in the old; aye, and yearns more wistfully for the honour than the fervent Catholic longs to receive the blessing of the Pope. Quite recently a multi-millionaire sailed from the other side of the Atlantic to Cronstadt, humbly offered his homage to a

Grand Duke whose name is a clarion, but not to the righteous, and waited patiently until his earnest prayer was heard and an Imperial autograph vouchsafed to him. Then he departed a happy man. Again, a pushing journalist from over the seas enters Muscovy, is granted an audience of the arbiter of the destinies of 140 millions of creatures, who for their sins are men instead of brutes, and he, too, departs after having received the gift of tongues that sing thenceforth the praises of Holy Russia and of her supreme head.

The very Jews believe and tremble, but dare not utter the faintest murmur. Completely disfranchised, chronically persecuted and periodically butchered, they fawn upon the power which thrusts them into the cesspool of humanity and then taunts them with their squalor. In the rank and file of the Hebrew people this attitude is intelligible: for it is the outcome of paralysing fear. But in their leaders it is merely one of the peculiar rites of the worship of the golden calf. Mindful of their hardships during the seven lean years, they are satiating their fierce hunger with morbid voracity and meanwhile the *auri sacra fames* deadens their zeal for their faith and checks the flow of sympathy for their misery-stricken people. Were it otherwise, they might have exclaimed: "Thus far and no farther!" and Russia's credit would not stand so high to-day nor would her loans be quite so cordially welcomed by the stock exchanges of Paris and Berlin. The leading factor in the problem for the Jewish priest of Mammon is Russia's power to throw the money market into confusion. When M. Witte was Finance Minister he used that power to the full extent, and the fate of the firm of Baring Brothers bore witness to its intensity. At present Jewish financiers are willing to believe without experiencing it, and their readiness to float Russian loans is evidence of their faith. It is chiefly for this motive, which is not more ungenerous than that of British, French and American Radicals, Republicans and Democrats, that having couched in decorous language their regret that their brethren should have been clubbed to death in Kishineff and Ostrovets, they advance money to the men who could and should have hindered the massacres.

And it would be the height of unfairness to blame the Jews for running with the hounds while holding with the hare, when we compare their attitude with that of continental free peoples who, terrorised by their Russian and German neighbours, are afraid of giving scope to their own liberal institutions. Many may be disposed to regard the English-speaking people on both sides of the Atlantic as "alone faithful among the faithless." Democratic ideas have been so long in the air there that they have entered into the life of the nation as sap into the tree. Conservatism itself is enlisted in the service of liberal principles and representative institutions, and even the tamest British Parliamentarian would in Russia be an inmate of a fortress or an inhabitant of Siberia. Hence Autocracy cannot fairly

expect much sympathy from the islanders, English absolutism having died a violent death at Whitehall with no hope of a happy resurrection at Windsor. Indeed a less fruitful soil for the deeds of reaction it would therefore be difficult to discover.

And yet the Germans and Russians have a story to tell of the great temptation which is at least sensational. According to their account, familiar to diplomatists on the Spree, the methods of seduction resorted to in Berlin and St. Petersburg are marked by endless variety and ethical iridescence, but unity of purpose is visible through complexity of action. Isolated illustrations can give but an inadequate picture of the political alchemists and their laboratory, but none other can be offered in an article of a review. In Berlin the boast is discreetly made that social distinctions to be gained, professional successes to be scored and personal interests to be furthered are among the psychological levers which are deftly pressed as circumstances determine. The motley brigade of conscious and unconscious agents include, it is said, cynics and idealists, fortune hunters and order-mongers, journalists and company promoters, semi-German bankers and cosmopolitan Jewish speculators, the Teuton husbands of Anglo-Saxon heiresses and the German wives of English-speaking magnates, as well as a sprinkling of easy well-bred men and women of the world whose chief business is to crown themselves with rosebuds before they be withered.

Practical people will receive these tales with justifiable scepticism. Tested by business principles the efforts they describe seem wasteful; and one may pertinently ask by what results they are justified. The answer given in moments of *abandon* is very circumstantial; whether it is also convincing is another matter. Reduced to its simplest form it is this: the German Kaiser, and on his advice the Russian Tsar, decided in their relations with Great Britain to ignore public opinion there, together with all its organs, and to deal as far as possible directly with the monarch on the assumption that his will is binding and final, as is their own. In their view even a Constitutional monarch is on the one hand influential enough to induce his Cabinet to put off action in important international crises until public opinion leaves it no choice, and on the other hand he is able with tact and courage to pour abundant water on the flames of popular passion. In this way he obtains a decisive voice in the affairs of the nation. What, for instance, can hinder a courtly Foreign Secretary and a languid Premier from behaving as if they had but a watching brief for the Empire? Obviously nothing, if they be ready to act promptly when public opinion is at last aroused. Therefore to follow public opinion is as feasible as to lead it and to them much more satisfactory. Now the Constitution will not be jeopardised if the Monarch addresses words of wise moderation to the Press which focusses the views and wishes of the nation. Manifestly then that step forward can be taken

without danger. Consequently tact and enterprise suffice to enable even a Constitutional ruler to steer the ship of State and to widen the margin of his power. How else are the Kings, Dukes and Princes of Germany with their Parliaments and Diets marshalled and led by their German overlord? And why should not those of his royal brethren, who admire or envy him his success, also imitate his methods?

The interesting experiment was tried, the story goes, and the results were encouraging. It was the Kaiser who took the first step, giving a wide berth to Ministers and Ambassadors, and making advances in his own roundabout way. Whenever he was in England, people fearing that he had a knife to grind, asked awkward questions. But the Prime Minister was unembarrassed for an answer, and said the Kaiser had no intention to ask for anything. And it would be unfair to doubt that the Premier replied according to his lights. As subsequent facts disproved the correctness of his statements, the conclusion is forced upon one that he himself was unaware of the arrangements which were going on over his head. It was thus that the Bagdad Railway Compact was sprung upon the nation without any previous negotiations, the Premier said, a compact which neither the people nor any Government in touch with the people would brook. Now nobody can suppose that the Foreign Secretary would keep his own chief in the dark concerning an arrangement of such wide bearings and grave import. And the only other hypothesis is unhappily that which fits in with the story told in Berlin.

That, however, is only one point in the secret history of the Bagdad Railway project. There are others more curious still. The refusal of the Government to publish the correspondence on the subject whets public curiosity and sharpens hostile criticism. But there is good ground for believing that data for a fair unbiassed opinion will soon be supplied by a plain account of the part which the so-called English Syndicate played in that double deal. The main point is that the German Kaiser sees in this and similar transactions grounds for persevering in his plan of boycotting Cabinets, ignoring official diplomacy, despising public opinion and settling matters comfortably with his Royal and Imperial brothers, whether their power is constitutional or unlimited. And that conviction, however much the British people may feel inclined to scoff at it, is fraught with real danger to the peace of Europe.

The secret preliminaries of the Venezuelan Expedition form another episode in the Berlin version of the taming of the Constitutional shrew. Especial stress is laid upon the brilliant tactics of the German overlord who not only drew Great Britain into partnership, but actually induced her to crave for admission. As usual the public was assured that no joint deal between the two Governments was contemplated. And it believed the statement until the Anglo-German Expedition was trumpeted abroad as a triumph of British diplomacy. How that end

was compassed is a mystery from which the veil has not yet been torn ; but in diplomatic circles in Berlin a big corner of it is sometimes raised for the delectation of the elect. The Kaiser, one there learns, has numerous wires at his service between London and his own capital which do not pass through the Embassies on either shore of the North Sea. And of the "live wires" several names are mentioned which self-respecting Britons would gladly miss from such a singular list.

Treading in the Kaiser's footsteps, the story continues, the Russian Tsar covered the same ground and reached the same goal. Indeed, if his efforts had been planned with equal forethought and carried out with the same tact, his German critics complacently add, he might have made much greater headway. But his counsellors pay little heed to practical psychology, and none to the feelings of the British people. They openly treat Great Britain as a State whose people and Press go for nothing, and disregard the assurances of Counts Lamsdorff and Benckendorff that the British Cabinet is unable to do likewise. That is the temper which explains their crusade against English shipping and their indifference to official protests. "British shipowners," they remarked, "are nobodies. The King and Court are well disposed to "Russia ; the new Ambassador has come on a mission to seek—and "therefore to deserve—our friendship ; so their newspapers may write "as they will."

That distinction persistently made by Russia between the British Court and the British people will strike readers as absurdly unreal and perhaps practically meaningless. But politicians must know that it is highly mischievous as well. For it was the conviction that in the nick of time the King would come as a *deus ex machina* to the rescue that moved the Grand Ducal party to refuse to set free the *Malacca* until strong arguments were on the very point of being reinforced by stronger acts. And absurd though their expectation may seem, there was something to be said in its favour. According to the Berlin tale the Grand Dukes recalled the fact that after the Russian Government had deliberately deceived the British Ambassador, Sir Nicholas O'Connor, the Russian Court calmly selected that Ambassador's successor and informally requested the King—not the Foreign Secretary—to appoint him. And His Majesty good-naturedly complied with the demand. *Cæsar nobis nominavit* the royal order might have run, is the German comment. Now the Autocratic party construed that well-meant act of international courtesy as a proof that British Constitutional forms are forms and nothing more. They argued that if the King whose Ambassador had been victimised, instead of resenting the affront actually rewarded the offender and went to the utmost limits of his Constitutional power to do so, it was obvious that His Majesty's view of politics, home and foreign, differed from that of his people. They added that the indifference of the Foreign Office to the Russian list of things contraband of war, against which no protest was uttered at the time, proceeded from the same source.

And that hasty assumption appeared to be borne out by other and more striking instances in which the royal prerogative was exercised to oblige the Court of Russia. For example, at the very time that the Press of Moscow and St. Petersburg was asseverating that Great Britain had allowed Japan to use Wei-hai-Wei as a naval base and was suppressing all proofs of the contrary, including even Lord Lansdowne's official denial, the suggestion came from Germany that the British Press should be curbed. At first sight the notion might seem laughable. Newspapers in Great Britain are punishable only by law and for clearly defined offences, none of which were even alleged against them. To check them for fair comments, however strongly put, is clearly out of the question, and to bring any influence in the nature of Russian censure or German pressure to bear upon them, appeared to be equally chimerical. Yet it was done. And it was done, too, at the very time that the Press of St. Petersburg and Moscow was venomously repeating old calumnies against England and daily inventing new ones, with the silent approval of the Russian censor. Nay more it was done, the reactionist party points out, by His Majesty the King. Here again the intention was unquestionably excellent, but the act was, as usual, misinterpreted and in consequence it defeated the ends of the statesmanlike monarch.

For those and other reasons the Tsar and the Kaiser fancy that Great Britain may by judicious or energetic usage be dealt with after the manner of absolute realms and brought in time to subordinate imperial to monarchical interests. "And by a strange coincidence the trend of British international relations, the meekness with which provocative and even aggressive acts, such as the seizure of Port Arthur, were borne, goes far to confirm that view. Certainly among all the Powers of the Globe not one ventured to raise its voice against the insolence of the Tsardom, which was growing well-nigh unbearable. Slightings were disregarded, insults silently swallowed and the utmost length to which any State dared to go in extreme cases was a verbal protest which came to nothing. Russia ruled the world."

Japan's resistance came as a surprise to all. And far from encouraging it the other Governments did what they could to frown it down. And so imposing was Russia's prestige and so strong are dynastic fears and hopes, that even now the neutrality of almost every nation is largely diluted with benevolence. Even Japan, although ready, was unwilling to unsheathe the sword; and had it not been for the need felt by the Autocracy to draw the superfluous vigour of its people from internal reforms to foreign conquests, there would have been no war, but only an unparalleled reaction. Japan's manliness has raised the struggle into a sphere which in the domain of international politics corresponds to ethics in private life. It is no longer a strife for territory, but a conflict between prerogatives and rights. If Russia were to score a complete victory, the days of popular institutions in Europe would be numbered.

In the twentieth century we are wont to gauge the worth of a Government by its usefulness and efficiency as a shaper and organiser of civilised society, as an instrument to solve pressing social problems, as a moral help to the community. And tested by that criterion, the Autocracy as embodied in Russia and Germany is a sorry failure. There are no common institutions in Russia by which the elements of the population are merged in one people. The Poles, Finns, Caucasians are on a footing different from that of the Russians. The Armenians are treated as enemies; the Jews are watched and suspected like ticket-of-leave men. And among Russians themselves the nobles have one set of laws and the peasants another, while the ruling classes are a law unto themselves. In order to descry the advantage of such a system of Government, which it would be blasphemy to connect with the grace of God, one needs not clear vision but exuberant imagination.

And yet that is the ideal of the reaction which is now making headway as surely if more slowly than the counter reformation at the close of the sixteenth century and the counter revolution at the beginning of the eighteenth. For the conditions are more favourable to the recoil to-day than they were on either of those historic occasions. On the one hand the chief reactionaries of the twentieth century are immeasurably better equipped, materially and intellectually, than their untutored predecessors. Germany, for instance, can mobilise all the applied sciences as well as a formidable army; Russia disposes of countless legions of fighting men, who, like the Chinese executioner in the story, would sweep their own brothers out of existence if the "Little Father" or his officer gave the word of command; and Austria, a *tertium quid* between those two peoples, marked by some of the best and worst characteristics of each, has in her governing circles preserved the extreme fanaticism of the sixteenth century and carried it into the sober religion of the twentieth. On the other hand, the free peoples, like the Romans in presence of the barbarians or like the Italian Republics of the Renaissance, have lost their warlike spirit and, what is far more serious, their moral power of resisting evil. They now trust to parchment conventions, the breach of which they are powerless to hinder and unwilling to resent; they conclude arbitration treaties with each other which leave the real causes of war untouched; they vie among themselves in currying favour with the future destroyers of their liberties, from whom they patiently endure slights and humiliations which they would not brook from one another. To the social and political danger which is now threatening Europe and the world the common run of people is likely therefore to remain indifferent, as patients are often indifferent to the slow advance of even serious ailments when devoid of present pain and unaccompanied by actual inconvenience. Their morbid craving for material comfort

blurs that clearness of vision which, once attained, must lead to self-denying action of which decadent nations are utterly incapable. Happily the peril presents other aspects and is fraught with more immediate consequences. It will strike a blow at monied interests and at the very money-making process, rendering conscription and all the other accompaniments of militarism indispensable conditions to the maintenance not only of national existence but of individual prosperity. Henceforward a much higher price will have to be paid for a lower standard of material well-being, and free peoples must be prepared to defend even that with a degree of self-denial and warlike heroism, the measure of which has been given by the armies of Russia and Japan among the millet fields of Manchuria. The losses which would be inflicted by a war in which Great Britain should play the part of a belligerent may be gathered from the damage she has suffered during a campaign in which she was only a neutral. The definition of contraband of war drawn up by Russia and acquiesced in by Germany was presumably inspired by far-sighted men who had in view a future campaign against islanders. For its primary object is, by forbidding foodstuffs, to effect a complete blockade of the whole coast even when the enemy's naval forces are inadequate to render it effective. One of the inevitable results of this attitude will be a further strengthening of the navy and additional sacrifices on the part of the taxpayer.

Nor is that all. Another much farther reaching change which the reactionary movement is surely bringing about is the definite abandonment of that type of State-system in which the civilian element predominates. Russia for the behoof of the Autocracy has succeeded in forcing Japan into militarism of the Prussian type. And she was on the point of inflicting upon China the penalty of annexation for refusing to follow Japan's example. She now compels the Indian Government to spend the hard-earned money of its subjects on the building of fortresses, the maintenance of troops and the despatch of military expeditions. Germany's influence is operating steadily in the same direction. Both of these Governments, reactionary at home and predatory abroad, have fixed the conditions on which alone the peoples of the world can in future hold their own, and these conditions are sterner and more ruthless than in the unregenerate ages of the world. It might perhaps be possible to those peoples who are still free to modify them, if definiteness and judgment shaped the aims of their policy and timely combination entered into their modes of action. But it is greatly to be feared that the only lesson which those nations are at present capable of taking to heart will not come until it is too late to profit by it. And then they will have the cold comfort of the tree in the fable, which mournfully remarked to the axe: "You could not have felled me had I not supplied you with a handle."

• THE "SELF-ASSERTION" OF JESUS.

II.

IN previous articles in this REVIEW the endeavour has been made to define and to illustrate the Idea of the Kingdom of God as it appears in the Teaching of Jesus, and to show its bearings on certain of the more urgent problems of theology and of society in our own day. In the last article* the question was raised as to whether the Kingdom of God was simply to be taken as a general name for the Divine climax of history, immanent from the first in Humanity as the fruit is immanent in the seed. If we take this view, plainly, that Kingdom must in principle have existed before Jesus appeared, and must now in principle exist even where His influence has never travelled. The other alternative is to conceive of the Kingdom as being vitally and organically related to Jesus Christ, as being a Divine Economy of grace mediated through Him, and moving onward through Human history in some such way as the Organic world moves on in splendour within the Inorganic realm, or as Human life and thought advances within the world of Nature. It was further argued that this whole question turned on the view which we took of the Personality of Jesus Christ, and that concerning this Personality there were two broadly marked theories, the theory which viewed Him as a purely human interpreter of the spiritual laws and Source of the world, and that which viewed Him as being not only an Interpreter but also a Mediator, and as thereby representing a new epoch and type of Divine action within the realm of Personality. The endeavour was made to show that throughout all the Christian ages there had prevailed in the Church a certain way of regarding the Personality of Christ, which Humanitarianism was compelled to regard, with Emerson, as "noxious," and further, that this element in Christian life was directly traceable to the self-witness of Jesus Himself. It was then argued, that by no fair critical or historical reasoning could this element in the teaching of Jesus be eliminated from the

* "The 'Self Assertion' of Jesus," September, 1904.

rest, inasmuch as it was implicit in His Messianic claim and explicit in many of His sayings, and that this claim taken in its context in the rest of His teaching was tantamount to the assertion of His position as Mediator between man and God, and had been so understood from the first by His followers. It was shown that this claim was absolutely unique, and it was argued that it could only be morally justified on the provisional hypothesis that it had reality behind it; and that on this view the moral difficulty wholly disappeared, His Self-assertion being a necessary part of His Divine Vocation. It was further maintained that only on this view was it possible to give a coherent explanation of the personality of the Founder of the Christian religion.

But is this provisional supposition of the absolute uniqueness of Jesus admissible? It is here that to-day the real heart of the problem lies, here in this *a priori* region that the Humanitarian view finds its chief support. It may be granted by those who accept that view that it has many difficulties, but these difficulties, it may be said, are quite outweighed by those of the Traditional view, with its metaphysical doctrines of Trinity and Incarnation, and its incredible ideas of the supernatural and superhuman. There is something, they feel, in the Traditional view which is subtly alien to the world of thought in which they live, something incongruous with the modern mind. At best they think it is a faith which men may carry, but which, in our age, cannot carry them.

Now in dealing with this difficulty it is necessary first of all to narrow the question to the immediate issue. We are not directly concerned here with the traditional theology as represented by the great Catholic creeds, but with what lies behind them, with that primordial religious intuition of the true meaning of Jesus, which the creeds endeavoured to formulate and safeguard in terms of the thought and in face of the heresies of their age. It is true, no doubt, that if we make that intuition our own, we, too, shall be compelled to form a view of God and the World and the Soul in the light of it, but that is a later stage with which we are not here directly concerned. We must begin with religion before we go on to theology, and here we are moving within the sphere of religious intuition.

Further, we are not here concerned with the question of physical miracle. That whole subject, also, belongs to a later stage of inquiry, and raises other questions than can be discussed within our present limits. The one question before us now has to do not with the physical realm of phenomena, energy and law, but with personality.

Can we justify the prejudice and even antipathy with which the modern mind seems to regard the idea of a unique and transcendent manifestation of God in Christ and the mediation of a new Divine Life to mankind through Him, which makes the Gospel not simply a new interpretation of the standing facts and laws of the world, but

a great cosmic event,—the coming of God to His world after a new fashion? It is probably safe to say that the great majority of those who reject the Transcendent explanation of the personality of Christ, if asked to give a clear explanation of their reasons would be unable to do so, and the same is, no doubt, true of those who do accept it. Belief and unbelief alike depend to a preponderant degree on the social and intellectual medium in which we live, and the degree to which we are or are not morally in sympathy with it. Hence, if asked to formulate their reasons for rejecting the Transcendent view most Humanitarians would simply say that the modern mind instinctively rejects it. There is, as it were, a subconscious drift in their minds that carries them past it. They feel that the whole conception of a transcendent Christ emanated from an age which had a different idea of the world from what they have,—a world in which it was easy to believe in miracle, in angelic visitants and evil spirits, in gifts of tongues and in audible voices of God. They believe that this prejudice in favour of the supernatural vitiates all testimony regarding Christ, that it is part of the personal equation to be allowed for when we are dealing with the Christian origins. No doubt there is much truth in this view. But what they are apt to forget is that they themselves do not think in a vacuum, that they, too, are influenced by a Time Spirit as certainly as the Galilean peasants, or the monks of the Thebaid, or the saint worshippers of the Middle Ages, and that there is a personal equation to be allowed for in the Twentieth Century as much as in the First. It may surely be fairly questioned whether the Time Spirit of our own day, so far as we can judge of it by its practical manifestations in the economic, social, and political spheres, is competent to discern the true essence of Christianity. Is it indeed so spiritual, so high-minded, so large in heart, so able to discern God to-day, as to warrant us in trusting blindly to its inspirations when it tells us that all thought of Transcendence, of God manifesting Himself in a new fashion in Jesus Christ, is incredible? Is it not possible that in following the impulses of the Time Spirit we may be as blindly prejudiced as the most superstitious relic hunter or devotee? Surely, then, it is necessary to scrutinise the grounds of this prejudice, and to see how far they can be justified.

What then is the radical difficulty in accepting the view that the Personality of Jesus Christ contains an absolutely unique manifestation of God, that it stands for the initiation of a cosmic change, that its purpose is the mediation of a new life to man? The intellectual element in this bias of the Time Spirit, which many feel so powerfully, is derived, I believe, very largely from the reaction of scientific ideas upon our popular theories of the World.

In earlier ages it was the imposing fabric of the Church that exerted a certain hypnotic influence on human thought. Venerable as she was by virtue of her great achievements in the moralising of mankind, and awful by her transcendent origin and the constantly

renewed miracle of the Mass, her very presence in the world made it fatally easy to believe in miracle. Familiarity with this imposing reality supplied the interpretive categories which men needed for the explanation of anything exceptional and wonderful. To-day that great structure is, so far as the western world is concerned, a ruin. The great palace of knowledge, which science has reared, has to a certain extent taken its place in the imagination of the modern world. Its majestic fabric is hypnotising the modern mind, much as did the Mass and the Church the mind of older days, and whereas men used to explain the phenomena of history with, it may be granted, fatal facility, by the idea of miracle, they now endeavour to bring them all within the categories of natural law. It will, of course, be at once objected that this is simply to say that a false method has been supplanted by a true. The answer to that is that, without doubt, science has come to stay. This great body of thought will not disappear like that reared by the Schoolmen. But it does not follow, therefore, that the prejudice against the Transcendent in History is sound, even although it has been generated by the influence of Scientific ideas, which are valid within their own domain. What is the source of that prejudice against the theory of the Transcendence of Christ which I have outlined above? I take it that the intellectual spring is something of this kind. The modern mind has been at work in the realm of physical science. It has learned there to look upon every unexplained and exceptional phenomenon as a challenge to thought, to take no rest until it has rationalised such phenomena by bringing them under the uniformities of natural law, and more particularly within the sweep of the great law of Evolution. When it applies itself to History it naturally brings with it the temper, the methods, and the ideals it has learned elsewhere. The fact of Christ baffles and harasses it, and it lays siege to it, just as it has laid siege to the unique and unexplained in the realm of physical Nature. The success with which it has met in its endeavour to dissolve away the physically miraculous in other spheres of history encourages it to hope for similar success here also. Its whole endeavour is to bring the Personality of Christ into line with similar great religious personalities of history; and, minimising the specific element in Him, to reduce the apparent difference in kind to one of mere degree, and so to compass the fact of Christ within the law of Evolution. But this the Theory of Transcendence cannot admit, and hence the antagonism between the *Zeit Geist* and that theory. The impulse towards the discovery of Uniformity is the motive, and the category of Evolution is the instrument of the modern mind in this endeavour to effect in the sphere of History what has already been accomplished, it is believed, in the sphere of physical nature.

The story of the rise of physical science itself flings a curious and instructive light on the whole endeavour to bring the Christian origins within the scope of Evolution. In his "History of European Thought

"in the 19th Century," a work of remarkable learning and ability, Mr. Merz has furnished abundant illustration of the way in which the mind of an age is apt to become, as it were, hypnotised by a new idea. It is like a child face to face with a treasure house of many locked chambers, into whose hands a key is given. He opens one door, or perhaps two or three with it, revels in their riches for a while, and then, leaping to the conclusion that the same key will open them all, runs about trying all the locks with it. In some cases, perhaps, he succeeds, but in others he only breaks the wards and delays the ultimate discovery. Mr. Merz shows in detail how, for instance, under the influence of Newton's great discovery, men vainly endeavoured to explain the molecular forces in terms of the law of Gravitation, and how in series the Atomic view of the world, the Kinetic, the Physical, and the Vitalistic and other views of the world have each arisen in correction and supplement of one another, Reality in every case proving greater than the specific theories, the richness of the concrete fact breaking up the abstract and partial theory. The history of Scientific thought proves that it is thus a natural tendency of the human mind to be hypnotised by a new scientific idea of the first magnitude, until that idea becomes almost an obsession. In time thought cures itself, Nature is found to be too rich for any single category, one *Zeit Geist* gives way to another, and the ingenious theological constructions and philosophies that had yielded to this passing hypnotism, and for a time had seemed so convincing and beautiful because so up to date, become at last musty and old. No doubt in the process permanent results are won, man has not spent his strength wholly for nought, but much time and pains have been wasted that might have been saved by a wise scepticism and caution.

A recent able writer* has pointed out that the discovery of the Law of Gravitation exerted an influence on the entire thinking and literature of the eighteenth century very similar to that exerted by the Law of Evolution on the general thought of to-day. Mr. Merz confines himself to showing its reaction upon physical science, but Dr. Oman has traced its reactions upon the theology and poetry of the age as well, which tended to look upon the world as a great and ingenious piece of mechanism with God as its external artificer, a conception which appears in the poetry of Pope and Addison, in Paley's *Evidences* as well as in the "*Système de la Nature*," and in the world view of the Encyclopædists. Now what the discovery of Gravitation was to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the discovery of Evolution has been to the nineteenth and still is to the twentieth century. I have no doubt as to the grandeur and truth of that latter idea any more than as to that of the former, but now, as then, I cannot but think that the age is in danger of a like obsession. The glamour of Darwin's great discovery lies on our age as that of Newton lay on the

* Lectures on "The Problem of Faith and Freedom," delivered in Westminster College, Cambridge, by Rev. Dr. Oman, 1904.

age of Paley and Pope and the Encyclopædists. The key idea of Evolution has been extended from the organic realm to all physical and speculative and historical knowledge. That great results have been achieved by the use of the new categories I believe, but that they are in any way adequate to the riches of life and personality seems to me sufficiently disproven. If Evolution be the sufficient category for the interpretation of Nature and Human Life, everything present in the later stages must have been implicitly contained in the earlier. The Christian origins on this view are no real Genesis. They are simply an Exodus. There is no new factor present, only a fresh turning of the ancient kaleidoscope of human wants and aspirations and dim intuitions. There is, at the utmost, merely a fresh adaptation of the great organism of human thought to its Greater Environment,—the Thought of God;—no actual emergence of the Divine Will in the arena of human life, save in the sense in which every righteous Human Volition is an act of the Divine Will.

It is thus that the Time Spirit applies the idea of Evolution to the religion of Christ in the same fashion as it does to all other religions. I have endeavoured above to show that there is nothing sacrosanct about this idea, any more than there is about Gravitation. If it can explain the facts, good and well; if it cannot, or if it can only partially explain them, then we must simply seek a wider theory. The theory is only of use for the purpose of explaining the fact; the fact is not there simply to illustrate the theory, and to be trimmed or discarded in so far as it will not lend itself to the purpose.

But we seem to stand in a different position relatively to the vaguer and august category of Uniformity. Is not this a veritable postulate of thought, and does not this idea of Uniformity exclude the very idea of any unique creative and mediatorial manifestation of God in Jesus Christ? It is plainly impossible within the limits of a discussion like the present to go in any thorough and adequate fashion to the roots of this most interesting question. I shall only endeavour to show that, reasoning by analogy, there is nothing in the Transcendent conception which is excluded by the principle in question. The same use of the principle of Uniformity which would exclude the idea of the Transcendence of the Personality of Jesus would inevitably lead also to the most thoroughgoing Monism regarding the nature of Organic Life, and also regarding the origin of Self-conscious Mind.

It is not my intention here to discuss the vexed question of the origin of life. The older theory of a specific vital force has for the most part gone out of fashion. Nevertheless, it is very generally admitted that Science has failed to show that vital phenomena are fully explicable in terms of their inorganic antecedents. There is something more in the vital result than was present in its mechanical conditions. Mr. Spencer, in the last edition of the "Principles of Biology" (Vol. I., p. 120) has explicitly recognised this. "We are obliged," he says, "to recognise that life in its essence cannot be conceived in physico-chemical terms."

"The required principle of activity which we found cannot be represented as an independent vital principle, we now find cannot be represented as a principle inherent in living matter. If by assuming its inherence we think the facts are accounted for, we do but cheat ourselves with pseudo-ideas. It needs but to observe how even simple forms of existence are in their ultimate nature incomprehensible to see that this most complex form of existence is in a sense doubly incomprehensible." The physico-chemical factors, in short, mysterious though they may be, are inadequate to account for the mystery of life, and so a fresh draft is made upon "the Unknowable." But with what consistency can we use the Principle of Uniformity to exclude the possibility of a new manifestation of the Divine Power in Christ, and relax it so far as to admit that there is that in organic life which cannot be accounted for in terms of its physico-chemical antecedents? Mr. Merz has devoted a masterly chapter of his "History of European Thought" to summing up the Vitalistic controversy, and has shown that while the older Vitalism has gone out of fashion, a neo-Vitalism has arisen in its place, which is advocated by many of the most conspicuous leaders in modern physical and biological science, men who are entirely unbiassed by any theological prejudice, a neo-Vitalism which derives its strength from the conviction to which Mr. Spencer has given expression, that "life cannot be conceived in physico-chemical terms." But it cannot be too clearly asserted that if we are to press the Principle of Uniformity in its narrow and rigorous form, there is simply no room for any controversy at all. We *must* conceive of life in physico-chemical terms."

As regards the second point, the origin of Self-conscious Mind, we may take up a much stronger position. It is utterly impossible to explain psychic phenomena in terms of their physical conditions. With the emergence of these psychical phenomena there arises, explain it how we may, something new, unique, unprecedented in the antecedent physical universe; something closely correlated, it is true, with the physical organisation, but distinct from it, and using it as organic to its life. The phenomena of conscious Life stand to Matter and Force in a totally different relation from that in which one form of Energy, for instance, stands to another. The form of Energy called Light may be transmitted into a quantitative equivalent of the form of Energy known as Heat, but there is and can be no such transmutation of kinetic energy into consciousness. They are incomparables, and as Lotze has said, "On the recognition of this absolute *incomparability* with one another of physical events and conscious states, has always rested the condition of the necessity of finding a special ground of explanation of psychic life." It is equally certain that the unity of Self-consciousness in the personal life can never be derived from the multiplicity of sensation. The existence of the self is the necessary pre-supposition of all thought. We can never build up knowledge out of sense ideas, ~~any more than we can make ropes of sand. Comparison is of the essence of~~

thought, and comparison implies a self-conscious mind distinct from the ideas which it relates and compares. Whether we can or cannot follow Transcendentalism in its higher flights, its analysis of knowledge seems to me to have firmly established this, that human personality is inexplicable in terms of its physical antecedents. Something new has emerged on the arena which uses the brain as organic to its own development, and which in this respect is analogous to what neo-Vitalists find in the lower realm of organic life.

But it must again be pointed out that the rigorous use of the Principle of Uniformity would seem to exclude altogether the very supposition of such a new factor appearing within the closed Cosmos of the physical world. I am not of course arguing that the Uniformity of Nature, rightly conceived, does so exclude it, but simply that the same use of the principle which would exclude the idea of an absolutely unique mediatorial Personality in Jesus would also demand the rigorous exclusion of anything absolutely new in the first appearing of Human personality. Here, let us suppose, is a man, who, studying the Christian origins and the Personality of Jesus, reasons in this way: "This 'mysterious Personality cannot be qualitatively unique among the sons of men, for to suppose that He is, is to suppose something unprecedented, something that is discordant with the majestic uniformity of the Cosmos. The difference cannot be one of kind, it can only be one of degree, and everything, therefore, in the records of His life that seems to imply a deeper distinction must be due to the illusions of His 'disciples.'" If we could imagine such an observer transferred back to the dawn of human history and watching the first glimmerings of human self-conscious life, must we not suppose him reasoning thus. "There can be nothing absolutely new in this being, the majestic uniformities of nature forbid it, the difference between him and other forms of life cannot be one of kind, but only of degree." We must imagine him perplexed and baffled by certain obstinate facts in the life of the new species, but always falling back upon his formula, and deriving from it new strength to explain away these new elements in terms of his too narrow and rigid world view.

I submit, therefore, that such a view of the world as would exclude the Transcendent interpretation of the Personality of Christ is all too narrow for the riches of the concrete reality of things, and if logically carried out would result in a Monism of a very narrow and materialistic kind.

A wider and more adequate view of the great Cosmos must, it seems to me, leave room for the emergence upon the arena of new and creative manifestations of the Divine Power. Where Mr. Spencer feels himself compelled to make a fresh draft on "the Unknowable," we may surely claim the same right to appeal to Him whose nature we believe to be essentially self-revealing, because the knowledge of Him is Life and because He is love. No doubt the passion for unity of thought is a legitimate and an inextinguishable craving, but there are other

interests even more vital. Lotze has put this principle in a pregnant sentence. "It is doubtless the interest of Science to group a multitude of different phenomena under a single principle, but yet the greater and more essential interest of all knowledge is no other than to trace back that which happens to the conditions on which it is really dependent, and the craving for unity must give way to the recognition of a plurality of different sources where the facts of experience do not entitle us to derive different things from one and the same origin."*

It is infinitely better to do justice to the concrete riches of the world than to cramp and maim human life in the strait jacket of a premature synthesis. What we do seem to find, then, in reviewing the story of Nature and History is that there is in them something more than simply the evolution of the immanent, that there are epochs that can only be called creative, marked by the emergence of new factors, which operate according to laws of their own within the great order of the world. In what has preceded I have used the appearance of organic and of psychical and self-conscious life as rebutting analogies which appear to me to negative that narrow use of the Principle of Uniformity, which would make it *a priori* exclude the Transcendence of the Personality of Jesus, and the main conclusion which I draw from these is that there is no valid *a priori* objection to that theory of Transcendence.

But we may carry the argument further. Supposing that there were to be a fresh manifestation of the Divine Power and Glory within the Cosmos, the preceding analogies would lead us to suppose that it would appear within the sphere of human Personality, that just as the Vital appeared in the Inorganic, and the Sentient in the Vital, and the Self-conscious within the Sentient order, each higher form of existence making the lower organic to itself, and initiating a new kingdom of its own, so would such a forthputting of the Divine Power make human Personality organic to its ends, and initiate thereby a new and higher Order of being. I grant that such a positive use of the analogy must be made with great caution, and would lay by no means the same stress upon it as upon the negative side. God is not to be bound by precedent, and a new act of His creative power may well have laws of its own. Nevertheless, it is worthy of note that in all these three points the genesis of historical Christianity corresponds to these earlier epochs. By its own showing God has manifested Himself within the sphere of human personality. He has done so after a new fashion by making a human personality organic to His manifestation, and He has initiated thereby a new and higher Order of humanity, whose life principle it is to be "conformed to the image of His Son."

We return now to the central path of our argument from which, for a time, we have digressed. We have seen that on one supposition only can we make a clear and consistent picture of the personality of Jesus. If that personality was of an essentially Mediatorial character, if He

* Microcosmus, Bk. II., Ch. 1.

was of such a nature, that faith in Him as Saviour from sin and Lord of the conscience were necessary to the attainment of a higher life in God than was normally possible on any other terms, then clearly it was right that He should make that plain. Thus the moral difficulty of the self-assertion of Jesus disappears entirely. His whole spiritual attitude can, I believe, be simply and completely explained and justified on this view and on none other. I have also endeavoured to show that the intellectual difficulty which the Time Spirit interposes to the acceptance of this explanation is unsubstantial, and that a larger view of Nature and History leads us rather to the recognition of an antecedent probability in the Transcendent solution.

We come now to the last part of our discussion. It is only from the standpoint of the Transcendent view that we can really understand not only the personality of Jesus, but the personality and religious development and thinking of the Apostles, and the peculiar spiritual note of the New Testament.

If we accept the Humanitarian view of Jesus, the really vital element in His work was His revelation of new religious and ethical truth, His doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of man, and the spirituality of true piety. Had His disciples truly understood Him, then, we should have found in their teaching simply a development and application of these principles, together with a grateful recognition of their Master, Who had made them freemen of this nobler world. But that recognition of Him would have had a secondary place. Their interest would have been centred in the new truths, and their gratitude and love for the Master would have been derived from and dependent upon the vividness with which they apprehended these truths and lived in them. Most of all would this have been the case with that one among them who had never seen Jesus in the flesh, and had no personal endearing memories of human companionship with Him. But plainly that is no true description of the Epistles, and least of all of the Epistles of Paul. It has been frequently pointed out that whereas in the synoptic Gospels the Kingdom of God stands in the foreground of the teaching of Jesus, in the apostolic writings its place is taken by the personality of Jesus, and that this is most of all the case in the writings of the Apostle of the Gentiles. Instead of being a secondary and derivative interest, the personality of Christ is ever in the foreground of the Epistles. True, the other element is there also, for in these writings there is a marvellous deepening and widening of spiritual outlook on God and the World and the Soul, but the thing which has prominence is the personality of Christ. It is not from that radiant Cosmos that light streams back upon Jesus, but it is from His shining Figure that light streams upon God and the World and the Soul. Now from the Humanitarian point of view, if Jesus had really succeeded in His work this would not have been the case. The really primary thing which He had to show was the mighty panorama of Heavenly truth, and if He had truly succeeded, His own figure

would relatively to that have been in shadow. But, instead of that, we find a great proportion of the intellectual energy of the Epistles diverted into Christology. We find that the thinking of the New Testament cannot rest until it has determined the place and nature of Christ. Dr. Martineau, as we have seen, has his own theory of Messianic obsession to account for this, but if he is right, why does the thinking of the New Testament not stop with the assertion that Jesus is the Christ? Why does it rapidly journey through that phase as simply a stadium in its course, and go on driven by some hidden impulse through other stadia, thinking of the Lord now as the Second Adam, the source of a new Humanity, and then, passing on through that phase again, speak of His human life as the earthly manifestation of a Pre-existent Being who emptied Himself of His Divine Glory in the Form of God, and then advancing through that once more, reach its climax in the Johannine sayings, "The Word was God," "The Word became Flesh." What we need, if all this is to become intelligible to us, is not simply the bare assertion that it was all lamentable illusion, the following of a false issue, we want to know the spiritual motive, the spur which drove thought along this great course to its goal. The apotheosis of the Buddha is no real parallel. That did not begin till long after he was away; it arose on Pantheistic soil; it had every encouragement from the environment. But in the case of Apostolic Christianity we can see the process begin at once without any gap as soon as Christ is away, and going on right against the very genius of Judaism, breaking up the strongest monotheism that the world has ever known. Surely we need some more adequate reason to account for so powerful a movement of life and of thought than Messianic obsession, or than enthusiasm for a human teacher, whom the chief exponent of that movement never saw.

Further, the Humanitarian theory fails wholly to do justice to the peculiar spiritual note of the New Testament. That whole literature is inspired by the conviction, not simply that something new has been discovered, but that something new and amazing has *happened*. The idea of the whole is not simply, "Now we know that the Jehovah of our fathers is our Father in Heaven; now we know that the Gentile is our brother; now we know that all this heavy Pharisee Code is an invention of man." All that world of new truth we do find in the Epistles, but we find much more than that, to ignore or minimise which is to miss their very genius. What is that constitutive element? It is that God in Christ has created a new spiritual environment. *God* has come forth from His Eternity, and has acted creatively in History, by initiating a new spiritual world epoch through His Son. It is this conviction that gives to the New Testament the peculiar thrill of amazement which distinguishes it from all other literature, the tremor of awe which vibrates throughout its pages. Take for instance such words as these, "Wherefore, if any man is in Christ, there is a new creation, the old things are passed away, they are become new." But

"all things are of God who reconciled us to Himself, and gave unto us the ministry of reconciliation—to wit, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, not reckoning to them their trespasses." That is the dominant note of all the Epistles. The Apostolic thought roots itself in the conviction that "God was in Christ." That is the fundamental belief in the light of which the Apostles think the world over again,—the constitutive principle of their theology and morality. "What shall we say, then, to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us? He that spared not His own Son but delivered Him up for us all, how shall He not with Him also freely give us all things?" Such is the faith reasoning of Paul, and the Author of the First Epistle of John says the same thing in other words, "Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God." The historical Fact of Christ interpreted by Faith is the central secret of the New Testament. It is to the Apostles a great new Act of God which constitutes a new world. Yet it is this peculiar note of the New Testament writings that the Humanitarian theory minimises or ignores, or treats as regrettable illusion. None the less, it is just this peculiar element which seems to me to lie at the very heart of the perennial moral and spiritual force of the Christian Gospel, and to form its dynamic and regenerating secret. Whether we hold that view or no, it does not seem to me possible to ignore the fact that from the very outset of the Apostolic mission the Church was possessed by it, and that it is the ground view alike of the Acts, the Epistles and the Apocalypse. It is inwoven into the very texture of the entire life of the primitive Church, its faith, its theology, its morals, its literature and its polity. It is not accidental, but constitutive, essential, organic. That being so, we have to endeavour to give a more adequate historical account of how it came to hold so dominant a place in the life of the Apostolic community than the Humanitarian theory affords, and in closing this prolonged study I shall now endeavour to restate the Transcendent view in the light of what has been said.

The only adequate and satisfactory account, then, which we can give of the great movement of Christological thought, and of the peculiar note which we find in the New Testament writings, is that it was directly due to the deliberate and conscious action of the Founder of Christianity. It was part of His Vocation as Mediator of a new Divine Life to man to set His disciples on the way which we see them following after His departure. Can we frame to ourselves from the records a coherent picture of the way in which the great conviction that lies at the roots of the New Testament life took possession of the first disciples?

Before the organisation, and before the detailed theology of the Christian religion, there came *life*, a world of dim intuitions, of new judgments of value, of emotions, of spiritual aspiration. Here is the

THE "SELF-ASSERTION" OF JESUS.

true protoplasm of Christianity, out of which, in reaction with the environment, all the theologies, and all the ritual, and all the types of organisation have sprung. An essential element in that spiritual protoplasm, the experience of the first disciples, was their personal estimate of Jesus. It is the correlative of His self-assertion. It reached conscious expression in the Confession of Peter, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God." It is that conclusion which for good or evil has made Christianity what historically it has been, not simply a system of truths and duties, but a religion of Mediation and Incarnation. What were the forces which created that spiritual protoplasm? Let us narrow the question. What was it that led Peter to his confession, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God"? The remoter causes were many and complex, but one stands out clear above the rest. It was the total spiritual impression which Jesus made upon him. There was one side of Jesus which every upright Jew could understand, the side to which Humanitarianism does full justice, the noble moral and spiritual teaching of the Sermon on the Mount and the Parables, the sanity, the largeness, the tenderness and the grandeur of His thoughts on God and the World and the Soul. There was the entire consistency of His character with His teaching. There was the impression made by His wonderful works. Close, daily association with His Master had created in Peter's mind a reverent affection for and trust in Him, which made him capable of venturing upon Him when the Master led him into unknown regions. The same faith which enabled him to say, "If it be Thou, bid me come to Thee upon the water," made his spirit plastic to the influence of that other element in His Master's teaching which has formed such an offence to Martineau and his friend. I doubt not that the same dilemma presented itself to him as to them, allowance being made for the difference between a Jew of the first age and a Humanitarian Theist of to-day. Out of that dilemma he chose another road, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God." It was "a mortal spring" of faith across the chasm between the old world and the new, momentous far beyond what any of the disciples realised. Christ alone knew it, and met the confession with the startling answer, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar Jona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven. And I say unto thee that thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." As I read the story Christ had been deliberately working towards this end all along, and He is, therefore, just as responsible for the form which this spiritual protoplasm assumed in the Apostolic period, as the Creator of the physical protoplasm is for its necessary developments. The acceptance of Jesus as the Christ at once made Him the object of a religious veneration to which no mere man has the right. I do not, of course, mean that to a Jew of that day Messiah was equivalent to God Incarnate, nor do I hold that during our Lord's lifetime the disciples held the Nicene Creed. But I do hold that, taken in the spiritual context of Christ

teaching, this whole Christ faith, by an inner logic, led straight to the recognition of what seems to me the central idea of the New Testament, that God was in Christ.

Can we define more closely this vital and peculiar element in the spiritual consciousness of the first disciples? In what sense did they believe that He was Divine? Plainly, this was at first only in a very dim, half-conscious, rudimentary, and uncertain way. It was purely by way of intuition and not by way of dogma. The great spiritual truths rise always like the sun through the mist, or rather it is the mist of lingering sleep that clouds the morning eyes of the soul. But dim as was the first consciousness of the Apostles that God was in Christ, their tone is quite unmistakable. The way in which they speak of Him, especially after the Resurrection, is qualitatively quite distinct from the way in which men talk even of the best of men. It is not simply a question of proof texts, it is a question of *accent*, of spiritual attitude revealed by many things besides explicit sayings. They speak of Jesus with religious awe. They quote Old Testament sayings about Jehovah, and without hesitation apply them to Jesus. They represent "the great Intelligences fair" as casting their crowns before Him. They speak of "the throne of God and of the Lamb." There is in their spirits a cast and temper of thought which speedily finds even the Messianic idea wholly inadequate to their estimate of Jesus. It is difficult to define and specify this first Christian consciousness. It is religion as yet and not theology, and when we are dealing with religious intuitions we must use symbol and picture and analogy rather than definition. Human nature is a harp of many strings. The glory and beauty of nature can set some of these chords vibrating, but they cannot awaken the chords of Love, for these need the touch of Humanity. But Humanity cannot awaken those higher notes which sound only when the heart recognises the presence of God. But, explain it as we may, Jesus was able to touch those strings and call forth that heavenly melody. Again, in our highest moments, we can discern God in Nature. Our senses are awake to the glory of colour and form and sounds in Nature, but through all this sense imagery we discern the excelling glory of the Eternal. In such moments men have felt that:—

The unfettered clouds and region of the heavens,
Tumult and peace, the darkness and the light—
Were all like workings of one mind, the features
Of the same face, blossoms upon one tree ;
Characters of the great Apocalypse,
The types and symbols of Eternity,
Of first, and last, and midst, and without end.

We are aware of the presence of God in His world. So, too, when we are morally at our highest and clearest we discern God in conscience. Analyse as we may its genesis and development, we know that this does

not explain conscience any more than a description of the genesis and development of language explains the thought which lightens through it. We recognise the voice of God in its awful imperatives with a certainty which makes light of all sophistry. It is from such analogies that we can, perhaps, best understand the Apostolic consciousness. To the disciples Jesus was at first, perhaps, simply man. But as their knowledge of Him widened and deepened and cleared, the very endeavour to understand Him, to make a unity of their thoughts about Him, led them on towards conclusions that caused the spirit to thrill with awe and wonder, and yet with joy. They became aware of something mysterious and transcendent in Him, something which was to the human lineaments of the Character what the Thought is to the Word. Behind and through Jesus they discerned—God, and that vision it is which causes the strange thrill and glow of their later writings.

Consider what this discovery must have meant to these men. They had lived on terms of daily intimacy with Jesus. He knew each of them as a friend, had often named them by name, had intertwined himself in the most intimate fashion with their lives. The growing conviction that "God was in Christ," which only acquired articulate and conscious form after His death, but which was implicit in the later stages of their human fellowship with Him, must have come with heartshaking power into that human intimacy. We can imagine what it would be to anyone among us if God in articulate thunder named him by name. But such a summons, astounding as it would be, could only touch one moment of his life. It would be a poor thing compared with the discovery that God was incarnate in his dearest friend, for that discovery would touch his soul along the whole range of their common intercourse. It would be an incomparably richer thing than the most beautiful system of religious truth about God and about Duty. Above all, it would have a personalising individual force about it that would make an altogether new life in God possible to him. We may take an illustration from life to bring out the difference. I know a great man by reputation, I have read his speeches or writings, and I desire to know him personally. I learn that he is accessible, and, impelled by this desire, I seek him out, I make my way to his residence, I get past his menials, I meet him face to face, and I find him all that is friendly and courteous. But all that is morally possible on these terms is an interview and not a friendship. The more of common sense and fineness of perception that I have, the more must I fear that I am encroaching upon his time and intruding myself upon him, or at least outstaying my welcome. I carry the burden of our intercourse; there is a constraint in the interview; there can be no real friendship. But suppose the case is the other way about. Suppose, he comes seeking me, persists in that search, comes to my house and shows himself in earnest in the matter, and is patient of my ignorance and shortcomings, in a word himself carries the burden of our friendship, then something richer than all

interview is possible—namely, true communion of spirit. Such is the underlying view of the New Testament Revelation, it is God “making Himself of no reputation, taking on Him the form of a servant, and “becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross.” That is what is involved in the conviction of faith, that “God was in Christ.” That such a conviction has a kindling spiritual force in it will hardly be denied. The man who believes in it with all his heart will necessarily be conscious of a great arousal of the moral and spiritual energies. But if he is a man of living intellect this elemental spiritual faith will raise a host of new questions in his mind. He will find the old world-view in which he lived before this new conviction possessed him no longer able to contain the riches of his new life, and will set about the task of framing a world view great enough to contain the new Fact. He will endeavour to define more closely the mysterious Personality of Jesus, to set it in its true relation to God, to Nature, to the History of the Race and to the Soul. It is here that we have the key to the intense Christological interest of the Epistles. It is no false track of thought on which their authors are travelling. They are simply taking up the necessary task of creating a new world of thought in which the grand and arousing conviction that God had manifested Himself to each of them after a new fashion in Jesus, could find itself at home.

Here, then, are the religious conviction and motive which can alone adequately account for the Christological movement of the Apostolic thought. They explain also what has been called above the distinctive note of the New Testament writings, the all-pervading sense that something new and amazing has *happened*. The Divine has appeared after a new fashion on the arena of History. The Christians of the first period do not speak and write simply like men standing in the shining track of a great pioneer discoverer of the soul, who has penetrated further into its great unchanging Order; they rather speak and act, as Professor Denney has said, like “men awakening in a new and stupendous environment,” an environment which renders a far nobler and freer life possible to them than was possible to their fathers. The closer analysis of what is implied in this idea of a changed environment would carry us further into a discussion of what is involved in the idea of Mediation than is possible within the limits of these articles.* All that is possible here is to call attention to the fact that the New Testament writers lay stress everywhere upon the fact that their new life rests upon something new which God has done. The Kingdom of God is to them a realm of grace within the moral and providential order of the world. I have endeavoured to show in the argument of these articles that we cannot

* The idea of a “changed environment” does not, of course, imply any *reversal* of the moral and spiritual order, but simply its completion. Partial analogies are found in the taking up of the Inorganic into the Vital, and of the Vital into the Self-Conscious. “Think not” said Jesus, “that I am come to destroy the Law and the Prophets, I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.”

adequately account for the personality of Jesus Christ so long as we are content to explain Him by analogy with other great founders of world religion, and that we can only approximate to the truth about Him, when we associate with that the further analogy of such a great cosmic change as the first appearance in the world of self-conscious mind. The Apostolic writers go even beyond this. They compare the appearing of Jesus with the creation of the world itself, and the rise of Christian life to a continuance of the creative fiat of God. We may bring out this contrast between the Humanitarian and the Transcendent views by a final illustration. We know that there is at this moment a great city growing up close to the Arctic circle under conditions unprecedented in the history of the world. The dream of a new El Dorado is summoning to the Johannesburg of the Klondyke thousands of the most enterprising and adventurous youth of England and America. Great buildings are rising, streets and squares are being formed, municipal Government is being organised and administered; and so long as the gold holds out, everything that enterprise and ingenuity can do will be done to make human life free and active in the long winter night and amid the rigours of the Arctic frost. We may hear, ere long, of wonderful new discoveries in the art of supplying warmth and light to this daring outpost city of gold, and each will make life more tolerable to its inhabitants. None the less, however great may be such discoveries in the standing physical order, the life of such a community must always be a straitened and impoverished thing in strange contrast with the life of happier regions. But suppose that something greater still were to happen. Suppose that by some vast astronomical change the entire conditions were altered, that instead of the rigours of the Arctic zone there came to the Klondyke the climate of the Riviera, Nature would be transfigured, the dark sea would become azure, the silent woods would ring with melody, the thick-ribbed ice and ancient snow would yield to the grass and the flowers, and humanity, feeling that a great load had been lifted, would leap up in victorious energy, in wonder, and in joy. Such is the change that comes over the spirit of the scene as we pass from the heathen moralists, or even from the prophets, to the New Testament writings. The environment of the soul has changed. God has manifested Himself anew as Father and Redeemer of men, a great load has been lifted from the conscience and the heart, and the spirit of man leaps up in liberty and joy. It is only when we recognise the truth of this idea of a change in the environment that we can understand either the Personality of Jesus, or the course of the life and thought of the Apostolic age, and it is, I believe, not due to accident, but to necessities deeply seated in the nature of the soul, that it is in the strength of this faith that the great historical victories of Christianity have been won.

PROGRESS OR DECADENCE IN ART?

TO mistake the broad and easy way of decadence for the arduous upward path of progress is a fatal form of error. Yet this has been done by a large section of our artists and their supporting critics, and it is causing wide-spread confusion, grave injustice, and a disastrous depreciation of our Art, which is a valuable national asset. This has been caused, or rendered possible, by a number of new factors which have created a situation unparalleled in the history of Art.

What might be called the democratisation of Art, or art-products, by cheap printing and various reproductive processes is quite revolutionary. Works of Art, instead of being the prized possessions of the privileged few, are brought within reach of the many. It is curious that while Tolstoy was deploring the aristocratic exclusiveness of Art this amazing spread of art-products was going forward by leaps and bounds. How often we scan the horizon for what is at our feet! These new developments are so astonishing and so interesting as to be worth a moment's consideration.

From the time when books were chained to desks they have gradually been cheapened until masterpieces can now be had for a few pence. In the popularisation of the pictorial arts the progress leaves one breathless. The rapid rise of photography has revolutionised the reproductive printing processes; and as a scientific aid it gives records of inestimable value, and has taken us further than we had dared to dream of as possible into the abysmal depths of star-studded space, enlarging immeasurably our conception of the universe. The camera, an invaluable scientific aid, has also become a toy; everything is snap-shotted, and photographs are becoming like visible memories, recording the multitudinous impressions of the roving eye. Could we but see a perfect photograph for the first time it would hold us spellbound by the wonder of it. Yet, as it is, we are satiated and almost sickened by the ever-increasing abundance of its productions. This wearying of the faculty of appreciation and wonder is a prime factor in the decadence of Art, as we shall presently see. Photography, with colour printing, gives us surprising reproductions of popular pictures, in which form, colour, technique, the actual brush-marks and the piling up of the paint are given with wonderful fidelity. We are thus, at Christmas at least, enabled to buy two or three masterpieces for a shilling. The "three colour process" has brought book illustration in colours within easy economic range of even the shilling magazine, and in a guinea

volume we can get on a reduced scale a large and varied collection of an artist's works. These little wonders give accurately the form, the texture, the handling and a close approximation to the actual colour. Some of them nearly equal the originals ; but in most cases there is a peculiar deadening of the effect which it is easy to foresee will in time, with their endless multiplication, render them distinctly nauseating. But while they are comparatively fresh we can enjoy them, at the cost of a few pence each. This is the democratisation of pictorial art.

In music there is a parallel movement. For years we have had the hand-organ, and also the mechanical piano, which gives a bravura of execution only equalled by hand after years of practice. The recent developments of mechanical playing, applicable to various instruments, are another step in the democratisation of Art, as although the fingering is done mechanically, the performer has some command over the expression, some scope for artistic feeling, and the unskilled music-lover can roll out masterpieces with correctness. The only loss is of the personal fire which flows through the musician's fingers and gives those higher refinements of Art which mechanism misses. This cheapening of the masterpieces will tend to kill the appreciation of them, and we may in time get actually to hate some of the most lovely creations which ever flashed from the brain of genius.

Of late years a still greater wonder has been given to the world by the scientists ; this is the phonograph in its varied forms. This does for the ear what photography does for the eye. It records the complex sounds even more wonderfully than photography records visual aspects, although less perfectly in some respects. The photograph gives form truly, but translates a coloured world into black and white, or a monochrome ; there is no such translation in the phonograph, which records time, tune and words of a song—its form and colour. In addition to this, the song may be enriched by a full orchestral accompaniment, yet all will be recorded, and may be reproduced years after the singer has joined the choir invisible. Every quality of tone will be to some extent given, so that a musician could tell whether the singer's voice was properly "produced" and delivered. Even the peculiar quality of every instrument—the timbre—is given, and every variation of expression. But while these things are wonderfully rendered, it is with a curious loss of beauty. The phonograph has a valuable workaday function as a means of communication, but I am only dealing with its artistic aspect as a recorder and reproducer of music and its soul-stirring witcheries. The gramophone and other variations of this wonderful instrument do much towards the democratisation of Art, as for a few pounds anyone can turn on a concert, an opera, an oratorio, a music hall entertainment, a simple song, or an instrumental solo at pleasure ; and can choose from the greatest singers or musicians. When we think of the soul resident in a violin which can be evoked by the master magicians of the bow, how it can be made to sing, to plead, to mean, to laugh and do everything but speak ; and then think of this

magic little disc which, operated by Nature's own nerve fluid—electricity—can not only speak but sing with full orchestral accompaniment, we see what a marvel it is. It reminds us of that magic membrane, the drum of the ear, and the wondrous response of the human spirit which translates the membrane's vibrations into sound and the whole world of music, which Schopenhauer and Wagner claimed to be the truest revelation of "the thing in itself" underlying all phenomena.

But to return to the phonograph. Although scientists themselves are unable to explain all the mysteries of this mechanical witchery—and the more one thinks of it the more wonderful it becomes—beautiful as are many of its effects, a gramophone next door may soon become an intolerable nuisance. Another wonder is the cinematograph, recording and reproducing in lightning flashes moving objects. But even this magic mirror is rapidly losing its power to impress us because it is already common.

Although I have adduced all these things to illustrate and enforce a definite argument, it is well, apart from this, that we should take stock of the wonders with which science is enriching the world. Familiarity makes dullards of us all, and we remain insensible to the living, moving miracle-world in which we live, move, and have our being. This to some extent is as merciful as the veiling of the future. When we begin to open our eyes to the wonders of existence they become overwhelming in their impressiveness, and we catch the significance of the old saying that no man can look upon the Great Reality and live—that is, live in this cramped and cramping body. A flash of insight causes us to break our earthly bonds and burst into a larger life.

II.

The sensitiveness, the weariability of the æsthetic faculties which I have been illustrating causes, in the Art-world, the demand for novelty to outrun the legitimate supply. So we see the same straining after the new and startling by artists as by those born artists—the ladies—in their striving for personal adornment. Think of the vagaries of fashion in dress and its kaleidoscopic changes. Beauty is no sooner attained than the movement is already on its way towards the grotesque or the ugly. Some of the fashions, such as the more outrageous forms of the crinoline, seem to us quite incompatible with sanity; yet when they were in vogue anybody daring to defy the tyranny of fashion and appearing in sensible costume was regarded with quizzical contempt and amazement. It will be well to bear in mind these vagaries, and the aberrations to which taste is liable, as they have their exact analogues in the Art-world of to-day.

We have seen that the tendency to tire is the most marked characteristic of the æsthetic faculties; they demand rest and change. We have seen, too, that familiarity dulls our appreciation and our sense of wonder. Beauty is the resultant of the co-operation of several factors,

outer stimuli and the mental or spiritual response ; as Wordsworth says, we half perceive and half create. Without what Ruskin calls the "penetrative imagination" there can be little or no realisation of artistic beauty. But Imagination is a winged Pegasus, and may be started on its airy flight by a mere suggestion. Leonardo da Vinci recommended his pupils to study the weather stains on old walls for their pictorial suggestiveness. A cloud may be a formless smudge of white on blue ; but to the imaginative Hamlet it may take the succession of life-like forms which bewildered the duller-sensed Polonius. The inner seeing reaches its most penetrating form in crystal-gazing, which concentrates the discursive outer senses and allows the spiritual faculties to become dimly operative. The gazer becomes hypnotised and sees visions of beauty having no objective existence. Ruskin had this power of inner seeing, and it inspired some of his most glowing rhapsodies ; but he had its corrective in a scientific keenness of outer vision as remarkable as his poetical insight. Now an ill-balanced critic, ignorant of these elementary psychological facts, ignorant of the nature of the faculties to which he appeals and with which he works, may stumble into endless pitfalls, do great injustice and be mischievous in proportion to his power over the pen. The bearing of these considerations will be manifest when we have glanced back a little to see how the present situation arose, and to see the causes of the decadence which is extending its deathly grip into the vitals of our splendid national Art.

III.

In spite of our proud modesty, our curious mixture of self-satisfied complacency and abject self-abasement and depreciation, we can claim almost as high a place in the plastic and pictorial Arts as in the supreme Art of poetry with our supreme Shakespeare. This point needs emphasising in view of the persistent libels on the English people by aliens and by the anti-patriotic section of the Press. A great French critic has said that there are only two schools of Painting, the French and the English. Continental schools are only derivative variations of the French, while we can claim greater originality, greater individuality than any. France carried forward to splendid heights the Italian and other continental developments ; while we have originated more and opened out more new fields than our brilliant neighbours. The Americans have not yet found themselves in these arts and are content to express themselves in French accents ; but I expect great things from them in the future. The influence of the Anglo-Parisian-Americans has been disastrous both in criticism and the arts. They have shown marked self-consciousness, and, with their keen business instincts, have introduced into Art those advertising methods which are mainly responsible for the arrest of our magnificent progress.

Hogarth was one of our first great painters to strike out a distinctive note ; seeing things in dramatic sequence, and illustrating his themes

with exhaustless wealth of invention, he attained high rank as a painter apart from his "literary" qualities. He was the first of a long line of poet-painters of marked individuality. In various directions we have widened the field of Art, revealing depths of feeling and emotion which had not before found expression in painting. Landseer, with rare insight, discerned the incipient soul in animals, and with Dickens-like humour and pathos made our dumb friends speak. This marked a distinct advance in human evolution, and founded a school which is peculiarly our own. We took up water colours and developed the rich possibilities of that charming medium. Wilson revived landscape painting, and through Constable, Turner and others enlarged the field of Art immeasurably. Constable's influence revived French landscape Art and inspired the Barbizon school. Turner carried the Art to heights never glimpsed by his predecessors; and made those discoveries, as M. de la Sizeranne points out, which the French Impressionists took up as new discoveries and carried to such mad extremes. Turner was inspired to his ideal flights by the most original and daring genius that ever handled a brush, a man shamefully neglected, because we are big enough to see his many faults and shortcomings but are not able to appreciate the wonders of his stupendous imagination or the dramatic energy of his thunderous epics. I refer to John Martin, who electrified the Art-world early in the last century. Spoilt by his amazing success, he allowed his imagination to feed on itself, and o'er-stepping the modesty of nature he lost touch of our sympathies. But the creative Idealism of Turner and Martin was the grandest and most original contribution ever made by two men to Art, and it was peculiarly English.

Not content with these splendid new developments, we discerned the causes of the decadence which followed the achievements of that great school of which Raphael and Michael Angelo were the chief ornaments; and an endeavour was made to go back to the principles of the artists who led up to those giants. This was the Pre-Raphaelite movement, a return to nature and a throwing off of hampering conventions. Our painters, refreshed and invigorated by this elixir and by helpful technical influences from France, especially the gospel of "values," progressed rapidly and promised to give us the leading place in the Art-world. But with this fruitage came a blight, an arrest ere the goal was won. So high was the level of achievement that it became increasingly difficult to attract attention by unusual excellence. To gain true distinction required genius, or abilities of a very high order; and this led to all sorts of experimenting with short-cuts and efforts to attract attention by illegitimate means. In a mammon-worshipping age, with its ritual of advertising, Art was pressed into service and became itself infected, and it was soon seen that notoriety was as profitable as fame.

Mixed exhibitions were the cause and occasion of the new movements. Such exhibitions are necessary evils, but have many drawbacks

It is good for artists to see their works in contact with those of competitors, and their public display is very beneficial. The submission of work to the judgment of a committee of experts, the placing of it with some regard to its merit is a stimulus to the artist, and is a sort of hall-mark for the protection of the purchaser, who has thus a certain guarantee of excellence. But, on the other hand, there is a strong temptation to turn the exhibition walls into advertising hoardings. Selecting committees, having to look through many hundreds of works, have their delicate æsthetic sensibilities wearied and deadened, and they require unusually stimulating work to appeal to them. So artists are tempted to attract the attention of the Council and the public by out-screaming their rivals. This was the root of much of the mischief.

There was also the increasing severity of competition, arising from the multiplication of exhibitions and of artists, which aggravated all the evils I have touched upon. The plethora of works of Art and of reproductions was discouraging, and caused an unsettling of aims, a questioning of good, and a feverish craving for novelty, for change for the sake of change. Impatient of the slow and slackening pace along the upward path of legitimate development, the more restless spirits made dashes in lateral directions, and widened the field. Some harked back to the primitives, but many, having lost their aim, drifted hopelessly down the stream of decadence. Revolting against the Academic demand for thorough craftsmanship, truth to nature, and due homage to beauty, they became a law to themselves and drifted into anarchy.

It is impossible to understand the decadent movements without glancing at the most curious figure that ever strutted, fretted and stormed across the stage of an astonished world. Mr. Whistler was the stormy petrel, the harbinger of change; and he has proved the evil genius of British Art, owing to the very brilliance of some of his qualities. Lowell's description of Poe best describes him: "two parts 'genius, three parts sheer fudge.'" As pictured by his rising pupil, friend and fag, the genius was largely expended in advertising himself and his art. He was a wit, a poseur, an inveterate practical joker; he was serious only in his belief in Spiritualism. Although using musical terms as titles for his pictures, he was absolutely without music in his soul, and was only bored by the finest concord of sweet sounds. He screamed with laughter over Shakespeare's most serious plays; was utterly Philistine in his judgments of Art; saw in Raphael only the "smart young man of his day;" he sneered at Constable, and saw only "accidents" in Turner's loveliest creations; and he lauded Canaletto, the least inspired of all the painters who have libelled that casket of sea jewels—Venice. Versed in the power of suggestion, he was extraordinarily magnetic, and, as his most intimate biographer tells us, he hypnotised all he came in contact with; he attracted and fascinated them, and set them working or fighting for him. Their own affairs

were forgotten in the absorbing interest he induced in the set of his new coat or the curl of his hair. He was always bending the knee to his own "perfections," in order to induce a like attitude in his followers. Such were his powers of suggestion that his eighteenpenny wine was nosed and viewed with lip-smacking complacency, as if of rarest vintage. "I have heard," says Mr. Menpes, "intelligent men dilate for hours upon the beauty and rarity of certain porcelain which I myself have seen Whistler buy at a cheap shop round the corner, or which has been presented at our doors in company with a pound of Oriental tea." When they were draping the Suffolk Street galleries the stuff gave out, and left gaunt battens grinning in their naked hideousness. But Whistler's wit was equal to the occasion, and he made the critics believe those eyesores were part of a profound scheme of decoration! So the flood of fooling ran on, and the whole thing is exposed, not by malignant enemies, but by an adoring friend who thus betrays the tricks of his "master."

Whistler first attracted attention as a skilful etcher of daintily detailed works; but his oil paintings were their direct antithesis; broad to vacuity they negated nearly all the qualities men were then striving for. Avoiding the difficulties of the full palette, he gave us "Arrangements" or "Harmonies" in black and brown or other simple colours. These works necessarily looked bizarre and outlandish in exhibitions; they provoked a storm of hostile criticism, and became the talk of the town. This was, probably, their main object, as Whistler was quick to discern the value of notoriety and of advertisement, and all his actions subserved this end. Using his pen like a picador he, as he himself tells us, "carefully exasperated" the critics and kept the talk going, until, as in the case of many politicians, his name was made by his enemies. Posing as the superior person, always calling himself "the Master," lauding his own works and belittling all others, he soon had a following of folk prepared to take him at his own valuation. A few friendly critics rallied round him, whose aim was to fight his battles, boom his works and promulgate his subversive doctrines. These doctrines were framed, as one of his principal supporters admitted, for the express purpose of exalting his weaknesses into especial merits. We must remember that one of these friends, by far the most brilliant writer "in the movement," conceived the happy thought of achieving originality by the trick of denying the obvious, and by inverting accepted axioms. With a flow of golden words and a pretty wit, he made this trick popular, and started that pestilent flood of paradox which has cut like a canker into the artistic conscience, and blurred the more delicate perceptions of right and wrong. Whistler adopted the same trick of inverting truisms, and indulged in playful Mephistophelian mockery of all that was good in Art. Much of this was uttered in waggish audacity to arrest attention and make talk, and was largely prompted by his lust of practical joking. All this whimsicality would merely provoke a smile if it had not been taken seriously by his

followers, who still preach his fudge as the true gospel of Art. It is this baneful legacy which has compelled me to devote to him an attention not called for by his legitimate achievements in Art. The amazing success of this advertising, adorned as it was by his brilliant wit and backed by considerable and varied artistic ability, has attracted a host of imitators, who have missed the good and perpetuated and exaggerated the bad in his methods.

It is impossible as yet to estimate justly Whistler's place in Art, or to separate the strenuously striven-for notoriety from the modicum of true fame. He is still an object of that booming which has become quite a science, so we shall be safe in discounting the over-praise and striking a balance between the best and the worst that has been said of him—the worst having been said by the great Ruskin. But certain broad characteristics of his work are abundantly manifest, and they have largely influenced the decadent movements. In the first place, he always evaded difficulty; as Sir E. Burne-Jones said, his art ceased where difficulties began. This gave a check to the upward striving and started the decadence. His tendency was to lower Art to the "painter and decorator" stage, rather than to lift it to poetical heights. His steady scorn of all "literary" or poetic motive tended to reduce Art to craft. His practice of saddening colour by the admixture of black, while pleasant enough in his own pictures as a complete change from crude and garish works, has led his followers to bring soot to London and call it colour. The later developments of the practice are still more disastrous, leading men to banish the light from heaven and earth, to besmirch Eve's fair daughters with muddy impurity, and to paint flesh in the ghastly greys suggestive of the Morgue. In default of genuine originality men are driven to play these fantastic tricks.

Whistler's influence was greatly increased by the friends his freakish, fascinating personality attracted. Some of these on the Press started the "New Criticism," which boomed his works, and propagated the subversive doctrines which were framed in order to exalt his practice at the time. Considering the nationalities of these critics, it is not surprising that their criticism was anti-English and tended to defame all that was best in our national Art. But it gained sympathy by its strenuous and persistent attacks on the Royal Academy. One of them wrote: "The Academy must be destroyed, then all the other Royal 'institutes will follow as a matter of course.'" This is the analogue of Anarchism and Nihilism in the political world, as I have shown in my *Anarchism in Art*—to which I may perhaps be permitted to refer—and in which I have thoroughly analysed the whole complex and unprecedented situation. The Academy having remained almost stationary amid a flood of change, and remained almost at its original numbers while the number of artists has increased nearly a hundredfold, it became a life-and-death matter with the outsiders to discount the value of the symbols, "R.A.," and "A.R.A."; so they encouraged all attacks on that too conservative institution. In addition to this need, all

outsiders, if only from the fact that they are such, have some personal grievance against the Academy, and they delighted in hearing it abused. But the attacks of the new critics have been reckless; not confined to the constitution of the Academy, they have widened so as to include in their scope the whole great and varied range of Art shown at its annual exhibitions. So the outsiders are now finding to their dismay that all that is best in our national Art is being gradually discredited, and that they are the principal sufferers.

That such subversive, such anarchical doctrines should have found acceptance is amazing; but we can trace some of its causes. The "new critics" were in no sense *critics*, they were simply strenuous *advocates* of narrow and sectional interests; but knowing their own minds, and posing as champions of progress, they were allowed great latitude, and soon had a following. The title "new" was itself alluring to journalists desiring to be new and up-to-date; and as no one among the other critics had sufficient insight to discern the true inwardness of the new movements, they have drifted into the wake of these leaders of the decadence.

For the reasons stated at the outset the modern Art critic is placed in the worst conceivable position for judging works of Art. The plethora of pictures and the number of bewilderingly mixed exhibitions he has to view make quite impossible demands on that freshness of faculty without which there can be no enjoyment of Art. Send an epicure to half-a-dozen restaurants to sample some hundreds of dishes, and he will be sickened and hate the sight of food however delicious or wholesome. The Art critic is in like case. To appeal to his jaded faculties there must be an ever-increasing stimulus, startling novelties, or works so innocent of detail as to convey their impression at a glance and make no demands on the penetrative imagination necessary to realise the subject of a work of Art. That so many of our critics manage to keep their heads, and, like tea-tasters, are able to give sane judgments, often fills me with admiring surprise. Much depends on temperament and on knowledge. Lord Leighton was as wonderful in this as in his other accomplishments. When at the end of a long day of selecting works for the Academy exhibition the members of the Council were utterly worn out, and all but colour-blind from the strain of judging pictures in rapid flight before them, the Admirable Leighton retained his marvellous alertness to the end. But he had consummate knowledge to guide him, and could judge up to a certain point with lightning rapidity, and with the minimum of æsthetic strain; while most critics lack this profound knowledge and have to depend on a mere smattering and on weariable taste.

Now the picture-lover and buyer is in quite a different position; he places works on his walls, or in his portfolios, and looks at them only when he wants to do so. The quiet beauties, drowned in the trumpet-blare of an exhibition, sing an enchanting song to him when he is in the right mood; while the same works in a mixed exhibition would be

objects of scorn or of indifference to the jaded critic. This difference of mood leads to an irreconcilable divergence of opinion between the critic and the "public," and the critic has a lordly contempt for the judgments of the latter; while, as a matter of fact, the public often play the part of posterity and frame truer judgments than those of the over-worked critic who is debauched by satiety.

The blasé critics in search of new excitements demand a rapidity of progress impossible in these stages of Art development. Movement they must have. They hunger for the new and unexpected, and lacking the penetration to discern the subtle new beauties which the legitimate progress of Art is giving us, they clamour for movement, for "individuality." But what they mean by this term is any form of advertising eccentricity which can stir their tired faculties. So they lose the sense of direction, and mistake any kind of movement for progress. Thus the new critics and their misguided followers have mistaken decadence for progress, and judge largely by inverted criteria. This is the key to an otherwise bewildering situation.

These new and decadent movements here are but a pale reflection of the mad riot of isms which have run their devastating course in Paris and other Art centres. The great Franco-Belgian painter, Alfred Stevens, says: "We are passing through a phase of such pictorial "debauchery that, once the reaction sets in, fine workmanship will come "by its due." The extent of the decadence on the Continent is amazing. Even in Germany, the home of philosophy, the debauch is running its demoralising course, and none of the writers have insight enough to see the meaning of it all. Everywhere there is fever, but it is of Art sickening to its death rather than of birthpangs. I was looking recently at a German equivalent of our "Hundred Best Pictures." It consisted of wonderful reproductions in colours of the representatives of "Modernity," the "Secessionists." The works show greater technical training than our decadents display, but any of the great masters of old seeing these experiments would regard them as the output of a lunatic asylum. A few are very clever and odd, realising effects hitherto avoided, thus extending Art's frontiers. Some, while falling far below our Academy standards, are refreshing as satisfying the need of change for the sake of change. But the majority are intentionally and outrageously bad, and show clever and trained men deliberately mimicking the feeble fumbling of fools, just to astonish and set the world's tongue wagging. Others, as Ruskin unjustly said of Whistler, are simply throwing paint-pots into the face of an astonished public.

But there is method in this apparent madness. If a man can get talked about enough, and attract attention by playing these fantastic tricks, dealers in decadents will take him up, his works will be scientifically boomed, by mysterious means his name will be thrust to the front on all occasions, until the eye of the collector of curios or the millionaire is caught, and fortunes are made. I have described

this German production because it illustrates and is the type of the Secessionist movements in all the Art centres. These movements are represented here by the Internationalists (ominous name), by the New English Art Club, and by a section of the Glasgow School; but all Art bodies are to some extent affected by the revolvers.

In this country the agitation against the position and the constitution of the Royal Academy is legitimate enough; it sadly needs reorganising and adjusting to the changed conditions; but the revolt against "Academic Art" is quite meaningless here. There is a great variety of work among Academicians and Associates; no two styles are alike, and the range of subject and treatment in the works at the Academy Exhibition is simply enormous. So our "Secessionists" have had little to revolt against except the Academic demand for good work and thorough craftsmanship; they therefore revolted against that! So they and their supporting friends on the Press have steadily heaped scorn and contempt on the Academicians, they are abused for what they are and for what they are not, for what they do and for what they do not do. Bewildering confusion has been caused by this mixing up of artistic questions with art politics. In order to injure the Academy, as the leading Art Society, in the interests of sectional bodies, all that is best in our national Art has been steadily defamed, to our collective loss and cruel injury to individuals. The situation can only be realised by imagining a parallel case in politics. Suppose that the ultra Radicals, the Little Englanders, the Socialists and the Anarchists had control of the Press, and poured out an endless flood of Party misrepresentations, while the Liberals, Imperialists, Unionists and Conservatives all lacked the courage to oppose these sectional distortions of the truth. Just such an amazing state of things has arisen in the Art world. It is the nearest approach ever seen to what some cynical wag described as "that amazing unanimity of the Press only seen when it is entirely in the wrong." I am saying what the great majority of our most accomplished artists will heartily endorse—in private. They are timid folk, and while they will congratulate me for speaking out, will not do so themselves for fear of drawing the fire of certain critics, or through dread of the more deadly boycott. All critics who know anything of Art, and can look at the matter fairly and squarely, must acknowledge the truth of my contentions; but such is the dread of not being thought up-to-date that they allow matters to drift, drift and drift. But there are, fortunately, signs of reaction in Paris; and as the mischief came from that mercurial centre, so probably will come the cure.

But to return to the Academy. Like Governments, Academies are necessary evils, and there is a stultifying division of opinion as to what their constitution should be, and as to the best means of increasing their good effect without multiplying the attendant evils. Our Academy, which is a private or a public body to suit circumstances, should be nationalised; but it must be reformed, or must reform itself, as too

much power has accumulated outside. To weaken outsiders there must be more insiders; but this will increase a privileged class and make it much worse for the remaining outsiders. As is the case with all our institutions, no provision is made for its steady growth and automatic readjustment to changed and changing conditions. The tendency of an Academy is to act as a drag, a break that is always on. This often hampers the up-hill work of progress, but is invaluable when the chariot of Art is going down hill, as it is doing to-day. *Facilis descensus Averni*; and now that we are on the slippery slopes the Academy is the only thing that can retard the fatal descent. Seeing this I have committed the unpardonable sin of pointing it out, and have drawn attention to some of the good work of this much maligned institution. In consequence I am regarded as a Conservative, or a Reactionary, in spite of the fact that I am always fighting for advanced causes, or with forlorn hopes, my whole industry being inspired by the desire to seize the good in the new while it is new, and by my dislike of a cowardly cringing before popular prejudice, and a refusal to accept advanced truth until it has become "respectable," popular, and—out-of-date. The aim should be to look beyond the bias of the moment, to anticipate the swing of the pendulum and the judgment of to-morrow, rather than lazily to endorse the opinions of yesterday.

A plentiful crop of misconceptions has grown out of the initial blunder of mistaking decadence for progress. This blunder has misled many well-meaning editors, who have allowed a license to the narrow advocates of sectional interests which they would sternly curtail if they only understood the true inwardness of these crab-like movements. A deep debt of reparation is due from a section of the Press, which will be amply made when once the case is understood.

IV.

The vital question is whether the new movements are progressive, as is claimed, or are decadent, as I have elsewhere demonstrated. Writers who deal only with the pictorial and plastic arts have shown singularly little insight into the real nature of these new departures. Dr. Max Nordau, in his brilliant but one-sided work, *Degeneration*, treated all the varied phases of "Modernity" from a quasi-scientific standpoint, but lacking true artistic insight he blundered badly. He actually adopted the trick of screaming for attention by the violence and the scathing nature of his denunciations. This advertising trick is the real cause of many of the evils which he scourges and attributes to nervous diseases. Tolstoy follows Dr. Max Nordau to some extent in, *What is Art?* He discerns the decadence, but is strangely narrow, and while denouncing existing Art as too exclusive and aristocratic, overlooks what I have called the democratisation of Art which is proceeding so rapidly, and which is contributory to that unsettling of aims which has arrested development. While his social and religious theories warp and vitiate so many of his contentions, he sees as in lightning glare the

real causes of the decadence, and he passionately pleads for sincerity and "infectiousness"—the power of infecting others with the glowing emotion inspiring the artist, and would judge all Art by the width of its appeal. He thus shows what are the crying needs of the time: sincerity, to kill the suicidal cult of eccentricity; infectiousness, the mark of the true artist who conveys emotions first felt in the depths of his own soul; and he treats with measureless scorn the petty pretentiousness of the superior person who assures us that caviare is the true ambrosia. Tolstoy says that true Art is universal in its appeal, o'er-leaping the barriers of time and of Babel it goes straight to the great palpitating heart of humanity. There is life-giving truth in these contentions; but like Max Nordau, Tolstoy lacks the more finely-strung sympathy which welcomes new and subtle beauties coming in questionable guise. These two literary artists give us little or no help in dealing with the plastic and pictorial arts with which I am more immediately concerned.

The main factors, as I have shown, are the glut of Art, and the wearying of faculty which has caused a cry for change, and a revolt against nearly all forms of accepted excellence. A divine melody and a soul-stirring symphony may sicken us if done to death on street pianos or gramophones, but they do not cease to be beautiful tone-poems because our taste is vitiated by surfeit. Yet this elementary fact is continually overlooked in current criticism, the writers failing to realise the personal equation. In view of the plethora of Art, what is the essential condition of true progress? It is manifest that we should make greater and greater demands on the artist. We should demand higher and more varied faculty, more thorough training, greater excellence, greater preciousness of work and greater sensitiveness of the artistic conscience. We should ask for more thought, more soul, a greater play of fancy, imagination and invention. An artist should not only have more perfect command of his language, of his materials, he should also have more penetrating, more vital thoughts and more perfected power of expressing them. With these increased demands, this raising of all the standards of Art, the ranks of artists would soon be thinned, the incompetent would be weeded out, redundancy checked and true progress assured.

Now, what are the chief characteristics of the new movements? They invert all the conditions I have named. In the first place there has been an utter relaxation of the artistic conscience. Truth of form, the scientific foundation of all Art, is violated in ways hitherto regarded as the sign-manual of incompetence. The human form divine is often represented with unfinished, misshapen, abortive limbs which shock delicate sensibilities. Yet these offences against humanity, so far from outlawing the perpetrators and excluding them from the Art-world, draw from the "advanced" critics abject laudation.

Then, again, instead of increasing the demands on the artist, the whole tendency is to lower them. Since Whistler's disastrous lead all

the poetic and inventive faculties have been steadily sneered at and discounted by the Newists. Mr. George Moore described subject in painting, whether illustrative, dramatic or poetic, as "the failure of the 19th century"; he called it "a vice," and likened it to the potato blight or the phylloxera; exactness of costume, truth of detail were "derivative vices." These inverted ideas were not the ephemera of the weaklings of the Press; they appeared in a highly-placed weekly, and were republished in book form. These topsy-turvy assertions have been so strenuously repeated that they are accepted as axioms by "advanced" critics, and the others seem to lack the insight, courage, or energy to protest against such absurdities. To dub a picture "anecdotic," or "literary" in motive is to condemn it hopelessly. So the whole tendency of these movements is to reduce Art to craft, and to cut the root of public interest in it.

Thirdly, instead of making the work more thorough, more precious, more sympathetic with Nature's subtle methods, the trend of the Newists is in the opposite direction, Art is cheapened by the display of means, and easel pictures show the clumsy adoption of the scene-painter's handling. Painters turn their backs on the delicacy, the infinite subtlety of Nature's artistry; every kind of slipshod, slapdash, blatant brushwork is encouraged, and the standards of work so debased that the untrained may now pose as masters; thus the door is thrown wide open to the feeblest of amateurs who are exalted over the heads of the "common Academician" by fellow amateurs on the Press. Nor is this all; it is declared to be "scandalous" that the Chantrey Trustees have not bought certain poor little amateurish imitations of Turner's very slightest sketches, colour blots absolutely destitute of drawing.

Fourthly, in all other branches of Art we see the same blasé revolt against things hitherto considered good, and the invention of new forms of bad work, or the return to primitive blundering. Take one case out of thousands that could be given. The principal Art magazine recently published some coloured designs for a country cottage, and these designs were used as specially attractive features to advertise the publication. These designs simply exaggerated all the faults, ugliness and inconveniences of the worst form of old cottage. The windows were smaller, the roof stopped at the wall with the minimum of overhanging eaves, and the chimneys were just plain, arrested square shafts, without cap or other form of finish; like an ordinary chimney with the top cut off! This is a typical specimen of the depths of degradation to which the "advanced" movements are dragging our Art.

I have said enough to establish my contention that this new fever is the sign of Art sickening to its death rather than of birthpangs; and that the "advanced" artists and their friends on the Press have mistaken decadence for progress, and are judging largely by inverted criteria. These aberrations would matter little if those critics who have kept their heads, and who know the meaning of these things,

would only have the courage to speak out in manly protest, instead of allowing things to drift. In justice to the great body of critics it must be said that they, knowing that these fantastic tricks of the Newists are only means to gain notoriety, refuse to play into their hands by denouncing them. But it is quite possible to denounce backsliding and perditionward movements, without dealing with individuals. So the great body of our ablest artists, who are developing Art along sane and central lines, are suffering very great injustice because the principal part of the Press does not attempt to correct the mischief done by the other part which is largely dominated by alien influences.

V.

With regard to the future we must trust mainly to the swing of the pendulum. We need a Higher Criticism for Art. We are coming under a Newer Dispensation, and that may bring fresh inspiration and open up new and unexpected fields. What these will be the "advanced" artists have as yet shown no glimmering of. Some genius may arise and transform for us the heavens and earth, and by deeper insight reveal to us recondite beauties and depths of spiritual significance of which we little dream. While waiting for these few revelations we should take our cue from the ethical sphere. When in doubt do the duty nearest to thee, and when that is done the next step will already be clearer. British Art has given some splendid new leads, but the technical accomplishment has not always equalled the inspiration, so there is much to be done in perfecting the means of expression. Turnerism is "an arrested Art;" John Martin stands alone without a predecessor or a follower; the Art of Walker, Mason and Pinwell died with them. The Art blossoms given to us by these men were peculiarly English, essentially our own; and they sprang from a delicate sentiment having a penetrating appeal. It is the fashion of sciolists to sneer at sentiment, because they are sciolists and do not recognise in sentiment one of the most potent forces in human nature. In Art it gives that subtle, indefinable something which we call poetry—that is, *poetry of idea*, not dependent on metrical expression, but applicable to all branches of Fine Art. It is a sign of sincerity, and sends a sympathetic stir through the latent chords of our being. The master magicians having this evocative power are never likely to be redundant.

There is much to be done in every direction; we have yet to exhaust our own worlds and imagine new. But the achievements awaiting us will only be won by being true to our national genius, which long ago passed the French Revolutionary stage. The line of progress for us is that of steady evolution, which will be moved by the inner need for outer expression, and will have nothing in common with that haphazard experimenting which is degrading our Art, and which marks the absence of genuine inspiration.

E. WAKE COOK.

LIBERAL POLICY AND THE NEXT ELECTION.

IT is told of Sheridan that, having beneath his roof a distinguished scholar who had a horror of the east wind, he kept him in bed for a fortnight by fixing the weathercock in that direction. Something very like this was till lately the experience of the Liberal Party, except that it may be doubted whether in its case the east wind was altogether a fiction, or the illness entirely one of the imagination. At any rate, its obvious depression of spirits was for long a matter of anxiety to politically-minded people. Friends and opponents alike, all except the few who detected in its weakness a welcome sign of the impending collapse of Party Government, spared no effort to make their sympathy apparent, and to assure the sufferer of their wishes for a speedy change in the weather. So many were the offers to prescribe, that at one time there was a real danger that the patient might succumb to a surfeit of good advice. That danger also passed, and in spite of every attention the patient recovered; but the nature of the recovery does not suggest that the fears were groundless. And so to offer fresh counsel in the period of convalescence may seem an act needing excuse. There are, however, two good reasons for making such an attempt, reasons which, in the careless season of returning health, are likely to receive less attention than they deserve.

The first is that till a comparatively recent date the actions of the Party were of small importance; it had neither the ear of the electorate nor the immediate prospect of office, and could not expect the public to be greatly interested in things in which it hardly interested itself. One wiped the words Home Rule from the slate and wrote in their place local self-government for Ireland. Another promptly declared his unswerving fidelity to the Bills of 1886 and 1893. In both cases the announcement passed as a valuable expression of personal opinion and nothing more. That is now all changed. The certainty of a Liberal Government in the near future is acknowledged on all sides, and with that certainty every indication of its probable policy has become a matter of moment to the country.

Words which a few years ago might have fluttered a local dovecote or furnished a few personalities to a debate in the House of Commons are now not merely a power attracting or alienating the votes on which a Government must depend, but also a measure of the vitality and efficiency which the new Government promises to bring to its conduct of affairs.

The second and more pressing reason is this. Mr. Chamberlain has made certain proposals. Whatever we may think of their crudity and inconsistency, however economically false and politically disastrous we hold them to be, they have at least this merit, that viewed broadly they constitute a clear and definite declaration of policy. Is the Liberal Party content to oppose them with a bare assertion of their folly, a simple statement of the Free Trade position? If so, its triumph will be short-lived. It matters nothing that Mr. Chamberlain's figures are fallible and his arguments absurd. It matters nothing that the constituencies are prepared to repudiate them with increasing vehemence. The lame logic and mishandled arithmetic, combined with the appeal to individual interests, present a policy which in the gross is intelligible and not wholly unpalatable. Figures have been met by figures and argument has been met by argument, but that is not enough. Policy, too, must be met by policy. That all is not well with certain branches of our commerce is a fact which cannot be denied. Indirectly to have drawn attention to it is the sum total of Mr. Chamberlain's achievement. The set back in the chemical trades, for example, is incontestable, and the import of dye from Germany is only one sign of the slow drift of these manufactures to other countries. The Liberal view is that this is not due to the absence of Protective taxes on this side, but to want of enterprise on the part of our manufacturers and want of skill on the part of our chemists. In the same way and for the same reason the scientific trades, such as electrical engineering in Germany, Austria and Switzerland are outdistancing our own. These are things which call for positive action. It has been easy for the Liberal Party to show that the Protectionist case is a violently distorted picture of the facts, and that the remedy it proposes would be fatal to our well-being. It remains for them also to disentangle the shred of truth it contains and indicate the lines on which the true solution should proceed. If they fail in this they lay by a certain nemesis for themselves; they do more, they invite the double and dangerous possibility that Protection, after being defeated in the open, may gain entrance by some undefended by-path or that following on a brief and disastrous period of Liberal rule it may at a later day succeed not on its merits but on the shortcomings of its opponents.

That after eight years the reaction has come cannot be doubted. So evident is it, that it would be quite possible to sit with folded hands and wait for the inevitable catastrophe which must overwhelm the

Government. That this is the worst course for the Liberal Party to pursue is fortunately becoming the conviction of a growing number of responsible persons, and it is the purpose of this article to give some reasons for thinking this to be the case; that on the contrary the pressing need of the moment is for a policy which shall be both an answer to Mr. Chamberlain and a promise of positive Liberal legislation. The Tory record is itself an instructive lesson—an opening of singular promise, followed by a poignant declension to the depth of futility. To succeed to power with a large and controlling majority, to find resources in hand far in excess of ordinary expectations, to be called upon neither to face a difficult Parliamentary situation nor to consider the fickleness of constituencies for many years to come, these were not conditions demanding any exceptional genius, but such as men of moderate capacity might have used to some great end. Then if ever the new Conservatism might have redeemed its incautious pledges and proved itself a wise and careful legislator. But unhasting and unheeding the Government has gone on its way. At the end of the eight years all that remains is a distracted Cabinet, a disheartened and disorganised Army, and a few powerful interests re-established and re-endowed out of the public funds. There is no need of formal proof. Ministers are condemned by their own confessions to Parliament and by the reports of impartial commissions they have themselves been compelled to create. Every week produces a fresh instance or some damning sequel to a previous blunder. If we are in danger of forgetting the War Commission we receive a timely explanation from the Committee of Public Accounts of that enormous and misjudged bill of costs which we have to pay for the war. The Education Act begins to recede: it is once more made present by the Welsh Coercion Bill. If we are in the mood for Army Reform and tempted to think well of Mr. Arnold Forster, Mr. Brodrick rises in his place to remind us how small is the number of heaven-born War Ministers. At the very time that Japan, a country which less than forty years ago was fighting with bows and arrows, is showing us how a perfected plan can be efficiently executed, a Tory Administration is unable to protect our merchant shipping from unlawful molestation. The case of Sir C. Eliot is another of the many instances in which this country has shown a curious inability to use its best men, and this time at least the fault is with those who profess to watch most carefully over the interests of the Empire. It would seem that the South African War has taught Ministers nothing except a little elementary geography; at any rate, Somaliland is with us as a fresh name to mark the folly of precipitate and unorganised adventure.

To turn to another side of affairs the danger of unpreparedness and the maladministration which follows on it are very clear in the history of the late session. Of the seven principal Bills promised, no less

than four were abandoned, two were not introduced, and one only—the Licensing Bill—carried under circumstances degrading in the extreme. The nature of the abandoned Bills is significant. The commercial interests of the Port of London have long required safeguarding and reorganising. To a Party which professes to believe that our trade is declining and that the State can control its decline, this might have seemed an occasion for useful legislation, but the Port of London Bill was not proceeded with. A Valuation Bill again was a necessary measure, just as an Alien Bill was not: both suffered the same fate. But the crowning instance was the Scotch Education Bill, a measure conceding every principle and embodying almost every provision which Liberals had contended for in the case of England, a measure necessary, non-contentious and welcome. It, too, disappeared. It is difficult to conceive the spirit of a Government which could abandon this Bill and summon all its departing energies to the task of making the Licensing Bill law. Such an act is unthinkable under any Liberal Prime Minister who could be named. It is a crucial illustration of Tory temper and noteworthy to those who think that the antagonisms of Party are a solemn farce enacted with much private winking for the benefit of a deluded public. The Prime Minister's arrangement of the time of the House showed the same disregard of public interest. For some four hours only, the bare half of a Parliamentary day, the Home Office Vote was under consideration—that is to say, that out of a whole year a little more than 200 minutes were allowed to discussion of the needs of the working classes. With a defective Workmen's Compensation Act, with Trades Unions claiming to be restored to the legal position which Parliament in 1875 intended they should enjoy, we might have looked for labour legislation. Labour legislation there was none. Time was found to wrangle over paper armies and to subsidise dangerous trades, to make the clergyman's school his pulpit, and the brewer's public-house his castle, but for the well-being of the workers, the health of the parents and the lives of the little children broken on the wheel of a remorseless industrial system—for all these the Prime Minister could concede no more than the hours of a single afternoon.

This is the true Tory attitude and it is fortunate that after some hypocritical appearances in another guise it should present itself at this time in clear distinction to Liberal principle. But what is important is not so much the moral cause of the failure as its practical result. Nothing damages a Party so much in the country as a career, be it long or short, of unpractical and fruitless endeavour. The policy of ploughing the sands is always attractive to a Liberal Government, but except as a possible move in an attack on the House of Lords or as a death-bed demonstration before a General Election, it is the height of unwisdom. To propose great reforms such as Local Veto with the assurance that they will not be carried, to agitate difficult questions

such as Home Rule, of which the ultimate solution though certain is remote, is the surest way to forfeit confidence. Mr. Gladstone's Government of 1868 set the contrary example and reaped its reward in 1880. If the Party is not now to be rendered powerless for another twenty-five years the history of 1895 must not be repeated. It will not if it is true succeed to such a favourable situation as its predecessors, but it will be judged more severely, in proportion to the belief men have that it is the Party of creative reform. It cannot deserve that title and escape censure unless it is fully prepared: and to be prepared it must have a practical and well-considered plan of action: otherwise such a fall from the zenith awaits it also. At the same time it would be unwise to mistake the character of the reaction in the country: it is not in favour of any particular person or of any particular measure, but of Liberal opinion in the widest sense. The country is not clamouring for a specific policy. Mr. Chamberlain appeals with his and the constituencies unanimously reject it. But a policy is all the more necessary because the people do not suggest one. Satisfied at present with the defeat of Protection, they will soon demand something positive in its place. So far such a policy has not been stated in more than vaguest outline, certainly in no authoritative fashion. The energies of the leaders have been used, and admirably used, in laying the spectres raised by Mr. Chamberlain. The time has now arrived for construction.

Such anticipation of the future is not only a safeguard against dissension, but a first condition of efficient administration. Here, too, the Tory record is comforting to the Party spirit, but full of warning to those who look for more than a temporary triumph. Ordinary prudence would have suggested that they should do something; it is extraordinary incompetence which has prevented them. The Prime Minister is a man of unique intelligence but unlimited ignorance so far as concerns the bare matters of fact with which he has to deal. His belief that the Orange Free State would not fight and his late discovery of the Nonconformist grievance will go down in history with his confession that in some matters he is a child: and posterity will ask why the child was not put to bed. In the luminous phrase of a French newspaper he is "*philosophe raffiné, esthète distingué, ignorant comme un enfant.*" How much of his philosophy and grace have descended on the other members of the Government is an open question, but the meed of ignorance has been widely distributed. The Home Office and the Exchequer are conspicuous instances, conspicuous because they are offices which under any Liberal Government must be considered of supreme importance. And yet there never was a time when ignorance of this type was less excusable. The last twenty years have seen the accumulation of a mass of scientific data on every aspect of economic law and social life. There have been Royal Commissions and Departmental Committees untold: there are now the statistics

evoked by the fiscal controversy and not less valuable the private researches of workers such as Mr. Rowntree and Mr. Booth. A swarm of investigators, for the most part skilled and impartial, has descended on town and country, slum and workshop, laboratory and school, and their results can be submitted to every known test. What survives may not be all pure fact, but it is fact in a sufficiently concrete and unadulterated form to furnish a starting point for action. Except to the inert figureheads of Toryism there can no longer be excuse for hesitation. The statesman who accepts these data in a liberal spirit will find a large part of his work already performed, he will need only to bring to it an informing spirit and an active will.

The deficiency of common knowledge in the present Government is naturally most marked in the case of those wider problems which fall to no particular individual and which it is therefore the peculiar function of a Prime Minister to hold in mind. When Lord Rosebery put forward his plea for efficiency he was greeted with laughter by a Party claiming already to be its exponent. Efficiency has its root in education, but depends chiefly upon its higher and more specialised departments. It is, too, in the direction of higher education that we must look for any improvement in our industrial methods. Let us see how the Government comes out of this test. Much ingenuity has been expended in the attempt to imprison in words the elusive manifestations of Mr. Balfour's opinions. So far the attempt has failed, partly from the difficulty of pursuit and partly from the poverty of the English tongue. There is, however, one outstanding question on which that myriad-minded master of uncertainty has succeeded in crystallising his convictions. Since in 1897 the Irish Hierarchy declared their willingness to accept a university without tests and with free entrance to all denominations there has been at least a possibility of solving the problem of a Roman Catholic University for Ireland upon an acceptable basis. To Mr. Balfour at any rate the solution was an acceptable one. Subsequently a Royal Commission formulated a scheme and found a way for legislation. This and the results achieved by Lord Dunraven in 1903 passed unnoticed by Mr. Balfour. Yet in 1899, in a manifesto to his constituents, he wrote :—

We have it in our power to give or to withhold. It is for us to decide whether Ireland is to have an adequate University system granted to her, and if so how soon. For myself I hope it will be granted, and I hope it will be granted soon. I hope so as a Unionist, because otherwise I do not know how to claim for a British Parliament that it can do for Ireland all, and more than all, that Ireland can do for herself. I hope so as a lover of education, because otherwise the educational interests, both of Irish Protestants and of Irish Roman Catholics, must grievously suffer, and suffer in that department of education, the national importance of which is from day to day more fully recognised.

That is to say that Mr. Balfour not only held some action to be imperative in the interests of education, but without it he confessed he despaired of Unionism. He had made up his mind, he controlled a large and docile majority, he saw a way to make that majority serve the highest interests both of his party and his country: these things constituted an opportunity which would have appealed to less ardent and less enthusiastic natures than that of the Prime Minister. Even failure would have been magnificent, and to a man of one settled conviction a simple matter of duty. Opportunity, duty and conviction alike have been consigned to the limbo of departed things.

There is a recent case still more in point. On July 16th of this year a deputation under the auspices of the British Association waited on the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to urge the need of some form of State endowment for the Universities. Mr. Chamberlain was present as the spokesman of Birmingham. He stated that local subscriptions had produced about a third of the necessary funds, that the rates had been called in aid, but that there was still a large sum to be made up. He asked the Government to make a beginning and promised them a good dividend on any money invested. Representatives of Oxford and Cambridge and the principal scientific institutions also spoke. Mr. Balfour in replying took pride in the fact that he was himself Chancellor of a University. He then denied that endowment of Universities would increase the output of original work of the first quality, and ended by blaming the short-sightedness of manufacturers who prefer rule of thumb men to the skilled scientist. The first of these contentions is highly disputable and in this connection unimportant: the second is welcome since it is one which has been put forward by Free Traders with some confidence and with equal confidence denied by Protectionists. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who followed, was equally unsympathetic but on surer grounds. It would be a great misfortune, he thought, if the idea arose that it was the duty of the State to pay for higher education: in any case he had no money to give away, and, moreover, the Universities would do well to reflect first how much State control they were prepared to accept in return.

It is no doubt true that with a warlike expenditure of £66,000,000 it is difficult to add to the beggarly £14,000,000 granted to education: but a remedy for that is not beyond the compass of a Liberal Government. It is also uncertain to what extent the older Universities would benefit by the means proposed. But what was deplorable in these proceedings was the complete inability of the Prime Minister to appreciate the importance of the subject he was considering and the profound ignorance he showed of the facts. It was refreshing to him to learn that a Professor of Science at Munich could earn £5,000 a year; unfortunately he was not told what multiple that sum is of the income of such a Professor in England, to say nothing of the difference

of equipment provided in each case. But worst of all was the failure of the Prime Minister to recognise the intimate connection between science and industry and the importance of higher education as a factor in commercial success. Germany endows its Universities through the State, America through its millionaires. In England the apathy and ignorance of the Government is so great that it is left to a few individuals whose united incomes probably amount only to a few years' tenure of a Munich Professorship to take the first step. The newly-formed British Science Guild, which is designed to cover every branch of activity, educational and industrial, will have performed a useful work if it can succeed in informing the mind of the Government on some elementary facts concerning our higher education.

It is precisely true that an opportunity offers for Liberalism to counteract Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, and at the same time to follow its true tradition. That the most abstruse scientific study has a direct bearing on the methods of industry, and that, though seemingly unproductive, higher education is in reality a large contributor to national dividends, should be recognised as potent facts. How little they are so recognised the position of the National Physical Laboratory, to take a single example, is sufficient to show. One of the main functions of this institution is to give scientific assistance to various branches of commerce. With an incomplete equipment and an inadequate staff it endeavours to perform alone a work which in Germany is entrusted to five laboratories, in France to two, and in America to one large bureau fitted with every modern appliance. It receives an annual grant of £4,000, as compared with £40,000 allotted by Germany, £5,500 by France and £19,000 by America, sums which do not include the large and recent expenditure made by those countries upon new buildings. Among the tests which it has had to decline in the last few years for want of equipment are not only many which have been asked for by private engineering and other firms, but actually one from the Steel Commission appointed by the Government of Canada. Much may be done in the universities, but much may be done here also. The exact steps to be taken must be left to the decision of experts, and of those few who with far sighted and unwearying public spirit have devoted themselves to the study of the question. But while these silent servants of the State are preparing their schemes, there should be no doubt as to the Liberal attitude. The improvement of technical education, the encouragement of post graduate research and the judicious endowment of scientific institutions should be emphatically proclaimed as part of the Liberal programme.

The present position of the Party no longer offers any difficulty to the formulation of a policy. In the House of Commons its real opponent is Mr. Balfour; in the country, Mr. Chamberlain. Within the walls of Parliament it has faced a difficult task without success.

The Government still lives precariously by votes of confidence extracted from a House from which every semblance of popular authority has departed. Possibly it was stronger in August than in February, and if so the fact is largely due to the tactics of the Unionist Free Traders. Such a tenacious adherence to Party ties by the youngest and most enlightened of its members shows how rigid and unintellectual the bond must be—the care of the majority. But the main credit is due to the Prime Minister who has successfully resisted all efforts to extort from him a coherent statement of his views on the Fiscal Question. The mystery has been maintained by manoeuvres which have rejuvenated the somewhat stale science of Party intrigue, and has been deepened by rhetorical devices which have given joy to the dialecticians of the Party and not a little misgiving to the moralists. Rumour credits Mr. Balfour with an admiration of the poet Pope. If ever his duties called him into the House as early as prayer time, he must often have been tempted to invoke the daughter of Chaos and Night in the words of the Dunciad:—

Grant, gracious goddess, grant me still to cheat,
O may thy cloud still cover the deceit;
Thy choicer mists on this assembly shed,
But pour them thickest on the noble head.

These choice mists have indeed been shed abundantly, but round the noble head itself the clouds have at times been shaken and unsettled, sufficiently, at any rate, to afford to most a fleeting glimpse of the features they hide.

This evasion on one side has led to exasperation on the other, and in a common anger there has been a closer fusion of the Liberal Party. The rank and file have noted with satisfaction the entire Front Bench co-operating over the Licensing Bill. The uniform record of the by-elections, carrying with it the assurance of coming responsibility, has been another force making for cohesion. The truth is that the voters in the constituencies have never been so divided as the Party in Parliament, and have steadily refused to look on the dissensions of their leaders as deep-seated or enduring. There is not and never can be unanimity in a Party which progresses, but at the present time it may be doubted whether a single irreconcilable remains. The task of forming a Government will present no more than the ordinary difficulties. There are, even excluding Lord Rosebery, three conceivable Prime Ministers, one of them possible, one probable and the third desirable. The Party would unite under any of these. It is only necessary to forego the pastime of heresy-hunting to see that no individual is banned for an assumed incompatibility and that no indispensable talent is omitted for failure to accommodate itself to the straight lines of Party. Troubles may come, Mr. Winston Churchill may be a second Lord Randolph Churchill who will not forget his Mr.

Goschen, and Mr. Lloyd-George may be a potential Mr. Chamberlain, but these things at present are hidden. In the country the capture of the Conservative organisations by Mr. Chamberlain is an accomplished fact. What the relations are of Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain, whether there was a conflict, and if so, whether that conflict ended with the late session, what the significance is of the proposal for a Colonial Conference, whether it lies in Lord Rosebery's phrase, "the second string of a broken bow," or something more, these are riddles which will not be solved till that very interesting book "The Secret History of the Birmingham Movement" comes to be written. It is safer to assume that we have to deal with a diminished but compact and well-organised Unionist Party, united on Mr. Chamberlain's programme.

In all this there is nothing to hinder a homogeneous Liberal Party from freely declaring its policy. Is there, then, any deeper and more hidden division in the Party which must first be reconciled, and if so on what basis should the reconciliation proceed? By most people it is held that there is such a division and that its cause is a commonplace. The great work of Liberalism in the last century was the political emancipation of the middle and lower classes. That work is nearly complete, and is not likely to be seriously disturbed. *Pace* the bishops and the Welsh Coercion Bill we have democratic institutions; we are far from adult suffrage, but *pace* Mr. Balfour and the Parliamentary closure the voice that speaks is no longer the voice of a fraction of the nation. The aim of present-day Liberalism is to reorganise the conditions of life, to face in detail the grave problems of existence in our large towns, and in general to assure to everyone in this country firstly the elemental necessities of food, light and air, and secondly a sphere in which he can freely develop his highest faculties. The passage from one view to the other, in spite of its logical necessity, has been partial and unconscious. It finds its clearest reflection in the opposite Party whose negative creed always takes a shape antithetical to popular change. In all the tangled skein of Tory legislation of the last twenty years there is one persistent thread which gives it its colour, and that is the tendency to maintain vested interests. The clerical school, the public-house, the land—these are precisely the interests with which anyone wishing to reform the conditions of the life of the people must immediately come into conflict. If this be a true definition it must be admitted that the Liberal Party has failed to make the issue quite plain. No doubt the incapacity of Parliament and its helplessness in face of the mass of business with which it has to deal tends to a general confusion of all issues. But the chief cause lies in the distractions of the Imperial problem. Simultaneously with the slow unveiling of the new aspect of home politics it has come to maturity and claimed recognition, and in the result there have come to be two strains in the Liberal Party,

vaguely distinguished by their readiness or willingness to see this problem in its true bearings. On the one hand, there is the solid core of old opinion, boasting of its earlier formula as immutable in an age which calls for new ideals: full at all times of a sensitive humanitarian spirit, but in extreme phases narrow and provincial: invoking moral principles in trifling cases till they lose their application and come into undeserved contempt: in mild and extreme moods alike so impressed by the visible differences which mark the Colonies from the mother-country as to be incapable of comprehending the bond which unites them: partly drifting by blindness and partly forced, by its opponents into an attitude of negation in all that concerns the Empire. On the other hand, there is a body of opinion not less conscious of the grave inequalities of existence in England, and not less urgent in the cause of social reform, but with the insight, to perceive that the domestic problem is part of a larger one, not slower to admit the worth of principle, but less trammelled by its pedantic and outworn expression, sensitive to the new impulse which has come from without and awake to every possibility of using it to good ends. The recent case of Alaska will furnish a measure of the difference. It can hardly be doubted that to some Liberals that incident was confirmatory proof of the inconvenience of any tie with the Colonies. Regarding them as informal allies of doubtful loyalty, a mere visible aggregation of estranged communities, they saw in it one more instance of the irksomeness of the bond. To other Liberals it was an equally cogent proof that there is danger in haphazard relations. Desiring the Colonies as common co-operators in a great task, they would make it an occasion for some legislative readjustment which should prevent such difficulties arising in the future.

This is not the moment either to give names to these two groups or to make comparative judgments of value. But there is one important characteristic which distinguishes them; it is that the second is interesting, the first is uninteresting. The first, quite apart from its failure to see things whole, breaks down as a motive force because it lacks the power of imagination and is too far removed from that magnanimity which Burke said is not seldom the truest wisdom in politics. From a practical standpoint this is a serious defect. A policy to be accepted must be not only true to fact, and intelligible, but must also have a tinge of idealism. It must impinge on the sluggish faculties of the mass with something of the power of poetry and the energy of inspiration; at the very least it must commend itself by a breadth of view. Mr. Chamberlain's truths are peculiar, but his plan is interesting; his facts are wild horses to which he harnesses a willing imagination, but the imagination is there, and it is the imagination which attracts. Subsequent events have made either praise or criticism of the policy outlined by Lord Rosebery in his various speeches superfluous, but that policy, too, can still stimulate

bearers and set the sensitive pendulum of the Press vibrating for the one reason above others that it has the saving grace of idealism. This is not the time to suggest that Lord Rosebery should again be called on to become dictator to the Liberal Party. But if Liberalism is to be an effective force in the future, it can only be so by showing a combination of the same imaginative insight with practical suggestion. To this end it is not necessary that one of these two groups should swallow the other. Neither a purely Radical nor a purely Whig Government is possible, and the great bulk of the country is emphatically in favour of effective moderation both in domestic and in Imperial affairs. But a policy there must be, and a policy which attracts. It would be well to remember the position in 1895 when three leaders went to the country with three discordant cries, and of those three the two who had to face constituencies met with defeat. To avoid this there must be concentration, but concentration on a programme which is at once broad, constructive and stimulating. In part this has been already described. The answer to so much as is left of the purely Protectionist side of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals is plain. They have, however, another and an Imperial side. Were the Liberal view is against any violent interference with the natural course of affairs. The Colonies will never be pressed by a Liberal Government to enter into a closed and artificial system of commercial or Imperial federation. But at the same time to maintain its strength and to satisfy its better aspirations a wise Liberal Government will go beyond this merely negative provision. Much can be done to encourage the growth of a consultative committee which should neither sweep the Colonies into the toils of our Party system, nor in any way absorb them in our legislature. Such a council it is suggested might begin as a committee of the Privy Council, and that furnishes a practical basis for action. In the same spirit a wise Liberal Government would proceed to the erection of a true Imperial tribunal. The objections to the present Judicial Committee are not as some Liberals appear to imagine that it is incompetent, but that it is undermanned; not that its surroundings are simple, but that they are squalid. The view of the Colonies should also be considered, and they regard it as insular and English. Any change of this kind would be a concession not to popular love of pageantry, but to national self-respect; not to Imperialistic sentiment, but to Imperial need.

The attack of the Protectionist having been met, the rest is pure Liberal doctrine of a kind with which the Party is already familiar, and with which it would be presumptuous to deal in any detail. But the old question remains, have the leaders of the Liberal Party considered their policy, and will they in due time agree on some clear and definite statement of it? And in the second place, have the men who are likely to hold office done that deliberate thinking which is the first condition of efficiency? Has, for example, the future

Chancellor of the Exchequer outlined in his mind the ways in which he will readjust our expenditure and taxation? Is there an aspiring statesman prepared to grapple boldly with the War Office, that

Sebonian bog where armies whole have sunk,

to democratise the Army, and to restore to the National credit some of its squandered millions? Has the new Vice-President considered how he will amend the Education Act? Is there anywhere in the counsels of the Party a workable plan for the taxation of ground values, a Bill to meet the just demands of the Trades Unions, a Bill to regulate the hours of labour, or a practical scheme for settling the Housing Problem? Above all, is the new Government as a whole resolved to deal constructively with the question raised by Mr. Chamberlain, to create a system of technical education where none exists and to endow science with a liberal hand? It is no answer to say that these questions are premature, that promotion comes neither from the east nor from the west, and that everybody's business is nobody's. A Party cannot live without creative thought being somewhere present in its members, and office will come to the man with a plan. Nor is it any answer to say that the party is in the making, and that its composition remains to be determined by a General Election. A timely declaration of policy would go far to control the verdict of the constituencies and secure for the Government a popular sanction for its Acts when it comes into power. Confidence it already receives in advance, and as the confidence is great the disappointment will be proportionate. The plight of candidates with varying cries will be a serious one, but the plight of a Cabinet which with the best of wills does not know which way to move will be even worse. Past experience has shown that there is more practical wisdom in a short spell of efficient administration than in a long and aimless career of legislative impotence. Unlike a Tory Government, a Liberal Government always holds office on a precarious tenure. It lives by its spirit and its prestige. The present is an exceptional opportunity for the exhibition of that spirit and the recovery of that prestige. Failure now will mean exclusion for years.

VELES.

TSHAÏKOVSKI AS A BALLET COMPOSER.

EXCEPT as an elaborate "music-hall turn," or as a fashionable but usually meaningless interlude in opera, grand ballet has never received much encouragement in England. In Germany also a ballet is apt to be dismissed as a somewhat second-rate, frivolous form of entertainment. It is true that beauty and liveness of rhythm, undulating grace, "dramaticism" of movement—the distinctive attributes in a really fine ballet—are qualifications hardly applicable in themselves to the genius and nature of what we habitually style the Saxon race. In Paris and Vienna, ballet, whilst cultivated with enthusiasm, is appreciated almost entirely for its terpsichorean and spectacular effects, the accompanying music rarely possessing any very high order of merit. Italy, as in the case of so many other musical forms, has also been the fecund mother of ballet, and in Russia, that vast and sombre land of melancholy, where one might perhaps least have expected such a development, grand ballet has firmly established itself as an integral form of music as much as of dancing. As early as 1673 ballet had become popular at the Court of Moscow; and the Tsar Alexsèy Mihàïlovitch organised a school of ballet as an occupation for the poor children in that city. The Tsar's idea was naturally copied by many of the nobles, who formed their own private juvenile ballet troupes chosen from amongst the children of the peasantry. The Empress Anna in 1737 created a permanent *corps de ballet* in her palace, twelve children of both sexes always being in training. Foreign masters were engaged, who in their turn produced a school of native instructors, and cultivated varieties of national dances were fostered and encouraged. From the outset many Russian ballets were choral, that is, the musical accompaniment was supplied by the singing of the dancers themselves. This species of vocal ballet evidently originated in the choral dances of the peasants, still to be heard and seen in some of the country districts of Russia. One of these choral ballets, famous during the reign of Peter II., was founded on

the Russian fairy tale of Baba Yagà, a personage who is an equivalent for our English "Witch on a broomstick." Baba Yagà, though, rides through the sky in a huge mortar, propelling herself with the pestle, whilst with her huge tongue she licks up the clouds as she passes. Her enchantments and her adventures have been a favourite theme with Russian composers, from Glinka onwards. The greatest foreign dancers have always been signally fêted in Russia. A pretty anecdote is related of Fanny Ellsler, who in 1848 created a sensation in Moscow. She was presented on the stage with a *Kalatch*—a loaf of fancy bread and a Russian emblem of welcome and hospitality—containing an enamelled bracelet with the word *Moskvà* set in six precious stones: malachite, opal, sapphire, chalcedony (spelt in Russian with a K), vermeil and amethyst. The ballet that night happened to be "Esmeralda." In the second act Esmeralda writes the name of Phœbus on the wall. Fanny Ellsler wrote *Moskvà* in giant letters, kissing each of them in turn. Albeit opera and ballet were such favourite pastimes with the Russian Court and nobility from so early a date, it was only with the dawn of the 19th century that these performances assumed a sufficiently national importance to require a special ministerial department in the State. That ballet was then placed upon the same artistic level as opera explains the reason that composers of the calibre of Rimski-Kòrssakov, Rubinstein and Tshaïkovski have willingly devoted their talents to its composition. To Tshaïkovski, with his peculiar genius for evolving floating, curving dance rhythms, and his remarkable gift for musical characterisation, ballet writing proved a singularly grateful task. But he very rightly defined its exact limitations. He never attempted to turn it to the ends of powerful realistic drama and tragedy, such as inform most of his operas. He confined his ballet compositions—gems of fascinating illusion and romanticism—appropriately to slight and airy subjects. According to the catalogued lists of his music, he wrote only three ballets: *Lebedince Ozero* (The Swans' Lake), op. 20; *Spyàstshaya Krassàvitsa* (The Sleeping Beauty), op. 66; and *Shtelkoùchik* (The Nut Cracker Man), op. 71. But his opus 12, *Sneygoùrotchka*, or "The Snow Maiden," is practically a ballet-opera, in which the numerous dances are interspersed with vocal and choral numbers.

I.

Early in the year 1873, Ostròvski, the dramatist, was asked to write a "Spring" fairy piece for performance at the Great Theatre, Moscow. This author was then at the zenith of his fame as Russia's foremost contemporary writer for the stage, whereas Tshaïkovski, his junior by some 17 years, was only emerging from comparative obscurity and just beginning to be noticed as a young composer of promise. He could not therefore but consider it a special mark of distinction

when he received a commission to collaborate with the great dramatist and set his text to music. Detailed instructions were given to both author and composer by Beguechëv, the then Inspector of the Imperial Theatres' répertoire, to prepare the work in such a manner that the entire cast of the Great Theatre could take respective parts. Hence the lavish use of ensemble and choral music in Tchaikovsky's score. Owing to various delays Ostróvski's manuscript was not completed until within three weeks of the date fixed for the first rehearsal. Tchaikovsky consequently had to work literally night and day at the music, in the intervals, too, of his tedious teaching duties at the Moscow Conservatoire, where he was attending no less than 27 hours a week. The spring that year happened to be an unusually early and mild one at Moscow. "All nature," the composer afterwards wrote to a relative, "seemed suddenly awakened as from the slumber of death, 'the genial softness of the air, the warm cheering sunshine, together 'with Ostróvski's entrancing spring idyll had a kind of intoxicating 'effect upon my nerve and spirits. I composed as if in an ecstasy, 'without any sensation of languor or fatigue.'" The writer and critic Kashkin, an intimate friend of Tchaikovsky's, expresses his conviction that these three weeks were amongst the happiest periods of the composer's whole life. The germs of the score, it may be observed, were actually at hand in the unperformed opera "Undine," composed in 1869, and subsequently destroyed by Tchaikovsky. There is a close analogy between the adapted version of "Undine" and the story of Sneygóúrotchka. Undine is a nymph of rivulet and fountain, Sneygóúrotchka is the daughter of snow and mist. Thus the adaptation and application of the earlier score presented no difficulties; moreover, it was pretty certain to improve under Tchaikovsky's scrupulous methods of revising and finishing off each phrase. He also took for his leading themes some half dozen folk songs from Prokoúnin's fine collection, and one especially beautiful melody employed he had himself on one occasion noted down from the lips of a village carpenter in the Government of Kiév. In most foreign commentaries the Sneygóúrotchka story is very erroneously coupled with Grimm's well-known nursery tale, "Schneewittchen." The comparison is calculated to give the reader quite a wrong impression of the Russian original. Ostróvski borrowed his fundamental idea, not from a German source, but from a Russian folk tale which had long circulated amongst the people in a homely unsophisticated garb, and in which winter's snows are emblemised as fading under the ardour of summer's heat; obviously an allegory which sprang up amongst a people accustomed to witness annually a remarkably sudden transition of Nature from winter to summer. In the folk tale as poetised by Ostróvski, Sneygóúrotchka, the Snow Maiden, is the issue of the union of the gladsome fairy Spring with the grim old genie Winter. The father jealously guards their precious offspring from fatal contact with

his arch enemy, the Sun-God, who would, he knows, eagerly pour upon her his scorching, destructive rays. Winter therefore keeps Sneygourotchka in safe retirement in a lonely forest, but her mother, proud of her child's delicate beauty, longs to send her forth into the busy world to please and charm its human inhabitants. Thus it happens that Sneygourotchka, on the verge of womanhood, wanders forth and passes from village to village, captivating young and old. But of all her admirers not one can stir her heart. Snow courses through her veins. She is void of love and passion. Spring, who is always hovering near, becomes aware of this defect in her daughter's nature, and with a mother's warm caressing breath imparts to her the instinct of loving even as the flowers can love. She endows Sneygourotchka with the tenderness of the lily, the languor of the poppy, the desire of the rose. The Snow Maiden's heart is touched and vivified at last, but at the supreme moment, when she would plight her troth to her chosen lover, a brilliant ray of sun pierces through the clouds and pours forth its summer heat on her quivering frame. In an instant she dissolves into a spiral vapour and floats into the skies. This poetical and fanciful theme was a new departure for Ostrovski, who had won fame chiefly by his humorous and realistic presentations of the typical Moscow merchant class. The vein of fantasy in his conception of the legend is thoroughly national, and Tshaïkovski entered heart and soul into its spirit. The whole score is Russian in mood and colour. It contains numerous national episodes, which, though perfectly appreciable to a native, are of very little significance to a foreigner unless he has sojourned in Russia:—the fine chorus of the blind gouzli players, for instance, or the Mässlinitza (Butter Week) chorus, recalling the old-fashioned and almost pagan pageant of the Russian village carnival. "Sneygourotchka" was first produced in the May of its year of composition. Tshaïkovski always alluded to it as one of his best creations, calling it "one of his dearest and fairest bairns." He had the intention of remodelling and enlarging it upon the lines of a regular opera, and he was much chagrined when Rimski-Kôrssakov forestalled him by composing an opera to the very same text, also at the instigation of the Imperial Theatres' Directory. But in spite of his disappointment Tshaïkovski was generous in praise of his rival's score, pronouncing it to be a masterpiece. His own work, it appears, is of late years given only in concert excerpts; but it is of such rare and genuine inspiration and freshness that it can hardly fail to be revived at some time or other in its complete form.

II.

In 1875 Tshaïkovski again accepted a commission from the Directors of the Moscow Great Theatre to compose a grand ballet to a programme, entitled "The Swans' Lake," prepared by Beguechëv and a

German collaborator named Helzer. Just at that time the composer's attention was divided between his opera "Vakoul the Smith" (afterwards known as "The High Heeled Shoe") and his D major symphony, No. 3. The ballet therefore had to be put aside for the time being and its performance postponed to the beginning of the following year. No pains and expense were spared on the arrangements for its staging. One of the principal scenes represented a real lake in the midst of a great forest. The dancers, however, complained that Tshaikovski had thought less of them than of his music; the Press, too, was not very enthusiastic. Nevertheless, the ballet was very successful with the public for a number of years, and it continued in the *répertoire* until the stage properties were worn out. The programme is a very simple one, very German in character, but eminently suitable for its purpose. A young prince has reached the age of marriage, and by his mother's desire has to select a bride for himself. The ceremony of selection is to take place at a festive gathering in the princess's country palace. On the eve of the momentous event the prince is in the forest, where he perceives a flight of swans, which appear above his head and then mysteriously vanish. Curious to discover their hiding place he roams to the edge of "The Swans' Lake." Here he finds no swans, but a bevy of young girls, with one of whom, "Odetta," he immediately falls in love. He then learns that a wicked enchanter has cast his evil spell over her and her companions, and metamorphosed them into swans. Only with the sinking of the sun may they return to their natural shapes. Odetta's sole deliverer from this plight must be a man whose passion is immaculate, and whose love for her can render him capable of sacrificing his life, if need be, for her sake. The prince vows that he will surely rescue her and make her his bride. But Odetta warns him that should he waver for an instant after pledging her his troth, he will but betray her to a more terrible fate than the present, for she must then fall completely into the power of the wizard and lose her human identity for ever. The night is spent in dalliance and dancing. With daybreak Odetta and her maidens turn once more into swans, and the prince passes the long hours reflecting upon how best he may win his mother's consent to his marriage with this unknown forest maiden. Next follow the festivities in the palace. The prince is ill at ease and listless. Amongst the guests is a stranger with his pretty daughter Odillia, whose striking beauty so pleases the princess that she would fain have her for her daughter-in-law. The young pair are presented to each other without delay, and the prince is overjoyed, recognising, as he imagines, his Odetta in this Odillia. The stranger, alas! is none other than an evil enchanter, who has maliciously given his own daughter the guise of Odetta. In the meantime the day is on the wane, the sun is setting, and away on the edge of the lake the real Odetta has shaken off her downy, snowy plumage. A presentiment

of evil hangs over her and gains upon her to such an overpowering degree that she throws herself into the silent depths of the lake. The prince, realising his own fatal mistake and learning of her tragic end, stabs himself. But as in real fairy tales, a story may hardly end in direst tragedy, so the disembodied spirits of the unlucky pair mingle consolingly and are figured floating through space to an ethereal fairy kingdom. A story of this kind hovers dangerously near the commonplace. There was no thread of psychology in it to attract Tshaïkovski, but the music is exquisitely light and is scored with all his mastery of orchestral effect, and his love of suave melodies also stood him in good stead. What he did not utilise of the music of Undine in his Sneygoùrotchka he seems to have placed here. One of the four acts of the ballet suffered sadly as an artistic entity by the incongruous introduction of a group of dances of various nationalities. These were interpolated in spite of Tshaïkovski's protests by the ballet master, who wished to propitiate the clamour raised by the dissatisfied *corps de ballet*. For a revised edition, however, Tshaïkovski suggested the addition of three pieces: Espiègle, Valse Bluette, and a Mazurka, "Un poco di Chopin," taken from his opus 72, which consists of 18 pieces for the piano. The three numbers were brilliantly orchestrated by his friend, M. Drigo, and the musical merits of the score were considerably enhanced thereby.

III.

Some thirteen years elapsed between the appearance of "The Swans' Lake" and the composition of Tshaïkovski's next ballet, "The Sleeping Beauty." During this long interval he had reached the plenitude of his powers, and had accomplished much of his finest work. The opera, "Evguèni Onèguin," the orchestral fantasy, "Francesca da Rimini," the symphonic poem "Manfred," the pianoforte trio, op. 50, his four suites and three of his symphonies all belong to this rich period. When the idea of a ballet on "The Sleeping Beauty" was first put before him, he had just finished his 5th symphony, and was in a very depressed state of mind concerning its merits. In January, 1889, he wrote to his sympathetic friend and faithful correspondent, Madame de Mekk: "I am in a truly miserable frame of mind. I have 'not only all sorts of family troubles, but after two performances of 'the symphony at St. Petersburg, and one at Prague, I cannot help 'feeling that on the whole it is a failure. The public, like myself, 'catches in it a note of insincerity. They applaud it not for itself, but 'out of kindness to me. . . . Is it possible, do you think, that I have 'written myself out? Yesterday I was looking over my 4th symphony. 'It is assuredly infinitely superior to its successor. . . ." But in a fortnight his mood was altogether calmer and brighter. He had sketched out his first outlines for "The Sleeping Beauty," and was

delighted with the charming scenarium which had been prepared from the *Conte de Perrault* by Vsevolovski, one of the Directors of the Imperial Theatres. The music consists of a prologue and three acts, and closely follows the fascinating old tale, which was happily not tampered with or modernised in any way. A better subject for pantomime and dance could hardly be found. Tshaïkovski shut himself up in retirement in the country for nearly a year whilst working at this ballet, and six months after his gloomy letter to Madame de Mekh concerning his 5th symphony, he again writes: "The ballet is "shaping itself gradually, but I find that I cannot work as rapidly as "formerly. Nevertheless, I am no longer absolutely dissatisfied with "myself. I feel that after all my faculties are as keen and strong as "ever." A few days later, on July 25th, 1889, he continues: "The "ballet is to be produced in the winter. I believe it will prove to be "quite one of my best efforts. The subject is full of poesy, and "lends itself admirably to musical treatment. The more I work at it, "the more it appeals to me and attracts me. And just now I feel that "I am really throwing myself into it with all my wonted energy and "enthusiasm. Until this sensation of ardour creeps over me, I am "always doubtful whether I am really producing something good and "worthy of a hearing. I find it extremely difficult to get the "orchestration subtle and fine enough for my taste. Thus the ballet is "still progressing somewhat slowly. But perhaps this is all in its "favour, as I am conscious that my music often bears traces of haste "and a want of proper reflection." If we set aside Tshaïkovski's "Evguèni Onèguin" as his master work, then it may be said that amongst the rest of his music he left nothing better in its own particular style than "The Sleeping Beauty." Weber, Berlioz, Mendelssohn have all composed beautiful fairy music, but not one of them has surpassed Tshaïkovski in this, his opus 66. There are numerous passages—the bewitching *pas de six*, to give but one instance, when the fairies are presenting their gifts at the cradle of the infant princess—in which the texture of the instrumentation reminds the listener of nothing so much as a delicate gossamer web sparkling with dewdrops. It need scarcely be added that this music is by no means easy of execution. Each tiny phrase, each beautifully embroidered arabesque stands out by itself, as if detached from its neighbours, and every note tells. In his knowledge of orchestral colour and his capacity for blending its infinitude of shades Tshaïkovski was modern of modern, and yet underlying his wealth of tone contrast there is much in his thematic structure and style which takes one back to Mozart. Nowhere is this resemblance more striking than in "The Sleeping Beauty." The various *scènes dansantes*, the adagio, *pas d'action*, No. 8; the *farandole*, No. 13; the *sarabande*, No. 13; all these movements are imbued with a certain old-world, courtly grace quite in keeping with the character of the story, and possibly

this old-world flavour helps to accentuate the suggestion of Mozart. But perhaps the finest pages of this score are found in the *Entr'acte Symphonique, adagio misterioso*, descriptive of the princess's slumber of a hundred years on a couch of fadeless roses. The ballet was given at St. Petersburg, in the beginning of January, 1890. The final rehearsal and the first performance took place before the Tsar and the Imperial family and a brilliant assembly of Court officials and the whole of the diplomatic corps. The work by all accounts was well received, but scarcely with the special enthusiasm which Tchaikovsky had anticipated. The difficult music had probably not been accorded sufficient rehearsal. As time went on, though, this ballet perceptibly gained in favour, albeit the critics, who were rarely very friendly towards Tchaikovsky, did not hesitate to pronounce it a failure.

IV.

Tchaikovsky's opus 71, "Shtelkounchik" (The Nut Cracker Man), introduces us to one of his most popular works outside Russia, namely, what is known as the *Casse Noisette* suite, which he himself arranged in concert form. A careful study of the characters of the greatest artists usually betrays a thread of childlike simplicity, a genuine love of childhood and childish things, which remains with them through life. Tchaikovsky was no exception. Serious and intensely melancholy as was his temperament in the main, he yet preserved to the end a note of that youthful buoyancy and spontaneity which delight us in his *Sneygourotchka*. This *Shtelkounchik* ballet, almost his last work and written nearly twenty years later, re-echoes the same happy, unruffled vein. He undertook the work for the Directory of the Imperial Theatres early in 1891. This time the subject seems to have been entirely his own choice. He borrowed it from a French version by Dumas of E. T. A. Hoffmann's Christmas tale, "The Little Nut Cracker Man." At the outset Tchaikovsky had another of his fits of anxious depression, and declared that he was working at the ballet with great effort and reluctance. In June, 1891, he wrote to his pupil and friend, Tanéïev: "I am passing through a regular nervous crisis over my *Shtelkounchik*. The subject is charming, but I doubt whether I am likely to develop it successfully." But his fears were speedily dissipated, and with the completion of the sketches for the two acts into which the ballet is divided his equanimity and confidence were regained. It is a curious coincidence that E. T. A. Hoffmann, jurist, poet, musician, fantasist, should have attracted three such entirely opposite musical individualities as Offenbach, Schumann and Tchaikovsky. The Nut Cracker Man story was one of Hoffmann's most characteristic and successful effusions. There is a Christmas tree in the house of a German professor. The guests assemble, the tree is lighted, and the children cluster round it. Amongst the present

are a number of mechanical dolls. One of these, which falls to the lot of the professor's little daughter Marie, is the "Nut Cracker Man" with a Punch's nose and chin and moving arms and legs. This odd, grotesque plaything takes the child's fancy, and she prefers it to all her other gifts. Her brother and his companions endeavour to snatch the favourite out of her hands, and in the struggle the toy is broken. Marie, in tears, nurses and caresses her injured pet, lulls him to sleep, and tucks him up in her doll's cradle. The party is over, the guests take their departure, and the Christmas tree is once more in darkness. Marie is in bed, but is restless and cannot sleep. She is too much disturbed and troubled in mind about her little "Nut Cracker Man." At last she can bear her suspense no longer, and creeping stealthily from her cot she gropes her way to the adjacent room, just to satisfy herself that he is free from harm. When she reaches the threshold, to her horror and surprise she hears a scuffling sound as of mice running about. She peeps through the chink of the door. The Christmas tree is lighted up again and has assumed a gigantic size, the toys and gingerbread puppets are all alive, whilst little Nut Cracker Man is skipping gaily about in their midst. Marie is amazed and watches the movement with breathless anxiety. Then begins a battle for the gingerbread, between the mice led by their Mouse King and some little tin soldiers under the command of Nut Cracker Man. A fierce encounter takes place, during which Nut Cracker Man elects to have a single combat with the Mouse King, and is on the point of being worsted in the fight, when Marie seizes her slipper and flings it at his adversary, killing him on the spot and scattering his army in all directions. Suddenly at this juncture the little Nut Cracker Man is transformed into a handsome young prince, who offers his heart and hand to his gentle little rescuer, and carries her away to his fairy kingdom. The happy pair fly away through the air past snow-clad forests and frozen lakes, and snow maidens and ice fairies greet them on their way. Finally they reach the fairy kingdom of sugar plums and sweetmeats, where the Empress Dragée and her Court dames welcome them in great state, and the story ends with a grand sugar plum ball. The ballet was produced as a Christmas piece in 1892. Unfortunately Petipàs, the famous ballet master, was taken ill during the rehearsals, and there was no one to replace him who understood how to properly initiate and train the numerous children required in the cast. The important parts of Marie and the Empress Dragée were allotted to a couple of very awkward plain-looking girls, and though the mounting was gorgeous in the extreme, the clumsiness of many of the scenic details considerably damaged the general effect. The verdict of the audience at the first representations was that the ballet, though clever and highly original, was impracticable on the stage. All agreed at the same time that the charming and piquant music was certainly worthy of a separate hearing. It was some years

before the many drawbacks in the staging and casting of this ballet were removed, but in the end "Shtelkoùnichik" proved a decided success. Those who only know the few selected numbers included in the *Casse Noisette* suite have before them but a very slight series of sketches from the original score. And the best feature in the music is certainly omitted in the suite, namely, the complex psychological analysis of the child's mind in her affection and anxiety for her Nut Cracker Man. Tshaïkovski was quick to realise and appreciate, underlying the whimsical fancy and drollery of Hoffmann's depiction, a fine inner study of childhood, and in his musical illustration of the story the composer reveals the author's intention with a beautiful instinct for its true values. Child operas and ballets are comparatively rare. The orchestra was Tshaïkovski's palette, upon which he knew well how to mix his colours in strict congruity with his subject. It is very interesting to compare his method of scoring "Shtelkoùnichik" with the solid, contrapuntal style of another musical picture of fairyland and childhood given us by Humperdinck in his "Hänsel und Gretel." In the whole range of musical literature there is perhaps only one other composition besides "Shtelkoùnichik" which as perfectly reveals the sentiments and imaginings of child-life. And this other example is Schumann's "Kinderscenen."

Their Christmas ballets are to the Russians very much what our Christmas pantomime is to us. But magnificent and costly as are the scenic appliances, the transformation scene and what not of our English entertainment, its merits as an artistic musical composition cannot be placed on a very high level. By no stretch of imagination can one picture a Tshaïkovski supplying the music to the topical songs, political allusions, vapid puns, and somewhat vulgar travesty of some old nursery tale which constitute our modern ideals of what is suitable for the "children's" pantomime. Were it possible to introduce upon the English stage such ballets as "The Sleeping Beauty" or "The Nut Cracker Man," the very novelty of the contrast between the English and Russian ideas of a children's play would, one thinks, surely prove attractive. Certainly the importation could scarcely fail to raise our present standard of artistic culture. Tshaïkovski has been received with marked favour in our concert halls. We have become intimate with his special temperament as a composer. We should therefore welcome no stranger in giving him a place upon our lyric stage. No better beginning could be made than by bringing forward "The Nut Cracker Man" in its complete stage version.

A. E. KEETON.

DISESTABLISHMENT IN FRANCE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

UNTIL the 17th of May, 1904, there was no particular reason for discussing the probable consequences of a separation between the Catholic Church and the French Government. The utmost one was in a position to do was to wonder whether the Republicans, who were theoretically in favour of such a reform, would in the end really go for it.

It had appeared in their programme ever since the time when Gambetta, in 1869, included it in his election address, as candidate for the Legislative Assembly. But when, in 1879, they had wrested power from the reactionary parties, Gambetta, anxious to consolidate his reforms in order to bring them off, relegated Disestablishment to the rank of measures for the moment inopportune; and from that time it disappeared from the programme of the Government or moderate Republicans, and remained only on the programme of the Radical or Opposition Republicans. Every year, on the occasion of the budget debates, either the Radicals or the Socialists have moved to suppress the grants for public worship; but all the Ministers, even on the Radical side, have resisted the suppression as likely to dislocate the majority and to deprive France of the protectorate of Catholic missions. Besides this, it was thought that a policy of aggression towards the national clergy would be useless so long as the power of the ultramontane or monastic clergy, who are richer, more fanatical and more deeply involved in political agitation with the Conservative parties, was still maintained.

But the Dreyfus case had the effect of cutting into two sections the old Centre party, with whose help all the ministries had carried on the Government either against the Left by an alliance with the Right, or against the Right by an alliance with the Left. These two sections have become intermingled, one with the Right, the other with the Left, so that the Radical Socialists, instead of serving simply to complete the Republican majority, became and are now the kernel of it.

They forthwith took up once more a systematic struggle against clerical power. In the first place, they attacked, not the Concordat, but the Congregations, by passing the law of July, 1901, which paralyses their material activities, and other laws which forbid them to teach, preach or trade. Ministerial orators even described the campaign as designed to strengthen the Concordat, which was menaced by the illegal interference of the Congregations with the ministry of the secular priests under the Concordat. But the moment the Congregations appeared to be seriously attacked, the Republicans of the Extreme Left felt the necessity of following up the logical development of their policy, and the Socialist deputy, M. François de Pressensé, in April, 1903, drew up an elaborate Bill for the separation of Church and State.

Almost every year deputies have brought this measure forward. But M. de Pressensé's proposition, signed by 27 Socialists and 29 Radical Socialists, differed from its predecessors in two respects.

For the first time Separation was declared "opportune," whereas previously it had on the contrary been rejected as inopportune. "We 'have noted with astonishment,'" says M. de Pressensé, "with what 'comparative weakness' the Pope and the Bishops have protested 'against the Government policy in regard to the Congregations. If 'Rome has kept silence, it is simply through fear lest if things 'were pushed to an extreme, the Republic should return to her 'principles and achieve Disestablishment. I may be allowed to point 'out that this condition of mind of the Roman Curia is an irresistible 'argument for that very policy, the mere apprehension of which causes 'the shrewd Pontifical diplomacy to accommodate its behaviour. The 'more the Concordat appears to be valued in Rome, the more is it to 'the interest of the partisans of the secular State and of the sovereignty 'of the civil power to work for the destruction of that fatal compact." The proposition differed in the second place because it was so complete. It did not, like previous proposals, comprise merely a scheme for future ecclesiastical organisation, but a detailed plan, the articles of which, in the intention of the author, were to serve rather as a programme of questions to be propounded for solution than as definitive solutions themselves.

The proposition was well received. The Chamber did not thrust it on one side by means of the previous question, as they had done with former proposals, but referred it to a Grand Commission, presided over by Professor Buisson. This Commission, on the recommendation of the Socialist, Aristide Briand, had adopted the first part of a document almost identical with the one proposed. But no one thought that the Legislature of the day would pass it; at the most it was looked upon as designed to prepare the work of the succeeding Legislature. The minister, Combes, in his address asked simply for legislation to complete the disciplinary powers of the Government.

over ecclesiastics, and he expressed his desire to remain loyal to the Concordat so long as the Church herself did not formally repudiate and practically abolish it. Pope Pius X. has taken the initiative in the present rupture. He protested against President Loubet's journey to Rome by a Note which was published in the Socialist journal, *l'Humanité*, on May 17th, and which all Frenchmen regard as an intolerable interference with their national policy. In spite of the opposition of M. Delcassé, the Government were obliged to recall their Ambassador from the Vatican. Next, the Pope wanted to insist on the resignation of the bishops of Laval and Dijon, who were accused of favouring the persecution of the monks; but these bishops refused to obey without the consent of the Government. At the end of July the Pope was called upon to disavow the letters by which his secretary, Merry del Val, and his nuncio, Lorenzelli, had conveyed to the two bishops the threats of the Curia; and on his refusal, the nuncio was requested to leave Paris. Henceforth we may consider it very probable that Parliament will refuse to pass the grants for the maintenance of the Embassy; and all the Parliamentary groups are discussing the problem, not as to whether it would be advisable to effect a separation between Church and State, but how it should be done. Thus, thanks to the Pope, it is now too late to call in question the probability of Disestablishment.

On the other hand it is too soon yet to conjecture on what lines Parliament will organise it. We can only prophesy that it will oscillate between two policies: the liberal policy, which consists in revoking not only the Concordat, designed to guarantee the protection of Catholic worship by the French Government, but the Organic Articles designed to guarantee the French Government against the encroachments of ecclesiastical influence and wealth; and the policy of authority, which consists in not only recalling the advantages stipulated for in the Concordat and in suppressing the endowment of public worship, but also in maintaining and even strengthening the bye-laws contained in the Organic Articles. It is impossible to predict in what way these two policies will be combined in the future legislation.

But even without knowing this, we can form some idea of the crisis which will result, for we can foresee that the clergy will consider themselves persecuted and will behave accordingly. We can venture on this prophecy because the Church has never any other policy than that of pleading persecution, even when she is in the exercise of actual privileges; all the more will it be so when these privileges are attacked. In the Middle Ages, when she was making laws for princes, when she directly governed their subjects by an unwarrantable extension of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, when she monopolised a considerable portion of their wealth, so that Saint Louis was obliged to protest against the exactions of the Holy See, the clerics replied with bold reprimands against the royal taxation and induced people to believe

that they were being despoiled. Towards the end of the 17th century, whilst Louis XIV., in order to conciliate the clergy, recommenced the persecution of the Protestants, the Pope was protesting against the official declaration of the rights of the Gallican Church and refusing to instal the French bishops. In 1801, when Bonaparte had abolished the equality of religions, which was so injurious to orthodox Catholicism and so favourable to heretical and schismatic sects, when he had destroyed theo-philanthropy and restored to the Church her official character and a portion of her buildings, lands and revenues,—when these events, according to the French ambassador, threw the Pope into a state of “agitation and desire like that of a young wife” “who hardly dares to rejoice over the great day of her marriage,” Rome nevertheless found a reason for grumbling because the Organic Articles re-established the Gallican doctrine which confined ecclesiastical authority to purely spiritual matters; and pious authors have never ceased to denounce this “perfidious violation” of the Concordat.

In a word, the Church has always considered herself insulted and ill-treated even when the secular power was protecting her. It is hardly to be hoped that she will declare herself satisfied after a measure of Separation which will deprive her of her privileges, even if it contains no restrictive provisions. We must therefore expect, whether the measure be liberal or rigorous, a violent campaign of clerical agitation. But, far from injuring the secular power, such a campaign will as its first result sow discord among the ranks of the clergy.

* * * *

Indeed, when the Church of France has been separated from the State the first thing she will have to fear is a conflict with the regular clergy, who will endeavour to force themselves into the places of the secular clergy.

The monks have always desired to rule the Church; they believe, just as they did in the Middle Ages, that they are delegated by the Papacy to give good advice and set a good example to the pastors. They look upon the *curés* as subordinate agents engaged to perform the rites, but too dependent on national traditions and policy, and consequently incapable of conforming to the secret designs of the Vatican unless there be an international and mobile general staff to compel them. For this reason, from the time of the *Ancien Régime* downwards, the kings of France have always taken measures to assign the service of public worship entirely to the secular priests, as agents of the State, to the exclusion of the regular clerics, agents of the Pope.

This policy of the monks is made manifest by a systematic effort to reduce the powers which the *curés primitifs* used to exercise in their parishes. By *curés primitifs* are meant the inheritors or successors

of those persons who formerly disposed of a parochial benefice and who in the quality of inheritors or successors retained the right either to nominate or present the *curé effectif*, or acting *curé*, or to interfere in his administration. Indeed the monks held almost all the titles of the *curés primitifs*, because in the 11th century, at a period when the secular clergy lived in ignorance and dissipation, the bishops ceded to the monasteries the greater number of the parishes, with their tithes and oblations. Thus the monks controlled the majority of the parishes. But when the Gallican policy triumphed, when in the 16th century the clergy, who had become one of the three national orders, discussed in periodical assemblies their pecuniary contribution to the royal finances, they demanded the freedom of the acting *curés*. Louis XIV., in 1686, decided that the *curés primitifs* should nominate incumbents who should be no longer liable to recall, but perpetual, that is to say, in fact, dependent on the bishop alone. At the end of the 18th century the actual powers of the *curés primitifs* over their parochial churches were reduced to the saying of mass in them on the four solemn feasts and on the fête-day of the local patron-saint, without the right to administer the sacraments or to preach except under special authorisation.

In the same way the Governments of the 19th century have reserved the administration of Catholic worship exclusively to the secular clergy. The Concordat rules that "all privileges implying exemption from "episcopal jurisdiction are hereby abolished." The Minister of Public Worship, in 1801, made the following comment on this article: "The "Councils General had ordered all persons belonging to the Congregations to re-enter their convents and to abstain from the administration "of parishes. All the monastic institutions have disappeared. It was "therefore a wise move to devote attention only to the regeneration of "the secular clergy, that is to say of those to whose office, both by their "origin and their character, the administration of worship really "belongs." When Bonaparte tolerated the formation of new Congregations, they attempted to organise missions of preachers to intervene in the parishes; but were forbidden to do so by decrees of 1809 and 1831, which put a stop to this practice.

On the whole, down to the year 1848, the Congregations, opposed by the dominant character of the Voltairian *bourgeoisie* and the Gallican magistracy, did not seriously compete with the secular clergy. But from the time of the second Republic they took advantage of a sudden revulsion of feeling caused by the Socialist insurrection of Paris and by the Roman revolution. The *bourgeois* were affected by the struggle which was taking place between the base multitude denounced by Thiers and the social forces already uppermost, amongst which the Church appeared to be more especially threatened. No sooner was the Church, the International Black, engaged in warfare with the International Red, whose manifesto Karl Marx had published

in the preceding year, than the regular militia of Rome naturally assumed a predominant position, just as in a besieged town the warriors take the first place. Then the Dominican, Lacordaire, who was working for the re-institution of the Order of Inquisitors, was to be seen installed in the Legislative Assembly, and the Jesuits, with less noise, began to start colleges in all the large towns where the children of the *bourgeoisie* came to receive and did receive for several generations an education which has made them incapable of understanding modern life. Everywhere there sprang up establishments of nuns, encouraged by the Government, to give elementary and religious instruction to the people. And that instruction secured recruits for a large number of Congregations which blossomed under the sudden ardour kindled in the breasts of the pious by the revival of the Jesuits and the Dominicans.

Statesmen were not slow to see the danger. During the Rouland Ministry (1856-1859) the President of the Council of State and four Ministers met in secret conference and drew up their opinions in a document which was submitted to the Emperor. In it they said: "The religious Congregations of men are aiming at superseding our "secular clergy, the *curés primitifs* of the country, who recognise "the authority of their bishop—himself by nationality attached to "the country and to the Emperor. A few years more and the secular "clergy, supplanted by the Congregations, who are active and powerful "in other directions, will get no more recruits and the ecclesiastical "titles will have to be conferred on the monks who have invaded "their dioceses."

The war of 1870 and the brief campaign of the Ferry Ministry, which in 1880-1881 forcibly dispersed several Congregations, interrupted the advance of the monks, but only for a time; it did not prevent their manœuvring to get the places of the secular clergy. An inquiry made by the Prefects clearly demonstrates this. At Toulouse the Calvary Fathers occupy an estate (house, vineyards, fields) which forms part of the episcopal demesne, and live on the revenues of the demesne. At Privas and at Lourdes the Oblates of Mary the Immaculate are becoming "veritable masters of the diocese." At Bordeaux they occupy positions which should be reserved for priests of the diocese. At Avignon the Missionaries of Saint Garde "have "been invested in perpetuity with ecclesiastical functions." In the Bordelais the municipal councils have protested against the "encroachments of the Oblates on the prerogatives of the clergy"; and in Aisne another municipal council has decided to complain of the superior for having "tried to secure to his Congregation the entire "possession of the conduct of public worship and to make his influence "felt over the whole municipal administration." At the same place the *curé* was twice obliged to lodge complaints against the Oblates "who went so far as to oust him from his living."

The Jesuits have not been so imprudent as directly to supplant the *cure*s even in the smallest parishes or the most insignificant families. They have only attempted to exert influence over students in order to organise demonstrations, over servants in order to discover family secrets, over rich citizens so that they may have a workable body of rich clients. They have only preached in very worldly parishes, have only been concerned in notorious lawsuits (such as undue influence over wills and resistance to the Associations law) in order to attract the attention of the Catholics. They have not directly domineered over the bishops, but they have had them managed by rich persons. At Brest, for instance, a Jesuit has for this reason received the title of *promoteur de l'officialité*, which means the mission of denouncing priests to the bishop. In towns where this method has not succeeded they have calumniated the bishops, representing them as debauchees (Bishop of Laval), drunkards (Bishop of Dijon), free-masons and atheists (Bishop of Dijon, Archbishop of Rouen, etc.). At Bourges, a very ecclesiastical city and the seat of the primacy of Aquitaine, in order to punish the archbishop for his liberal opinions they moved the canons to protest loudly against the conferring of a prebend on a friend of the prelate's; they forbade their female "penitents" to attend the solemn services presided over by the archbishop, or to take part in charitable works under his direction. To sum it all up, the small Congregations menace the lower clergy by infiltration, the large Congregations threaten the upper clergy by boycott.

The law of 1901, which was passed in order to restrict them, has perhaps rendered them less dangerous to the State but more dangerous to the secular clergy, for it has to a large extent dispersed them, and their members, treated by the bishops as secularised, have taken rank in this way with the parochial clergy. Of course the Government has refused to recognise the validity of the ecclesiastical decrees which declared them loosed from their religious vows. But the Courts, hostile to the Ministry on account of its social policy, have generally acquitted the monks when accused of being not truly secularised.

Under the present régime this addition or substitution of regulars in the place of seculars cannot be canonically enforced on the bishops. They refused it in several dioceses in 1880; whereupon the monks complained; and Rome decided, by a decree in 1892, that monks who had been even temporarily loosed from their vows must remain in the convent until such time as a bishop shall consent to accept and maintain them, and in the meantime they are forbidden to exercise not only parochial duties, but any ecclesiastical ministry. But in the event of Disestablishment they will endeavour to secure incorporation with the parochial clergy by means of arguments borrowed from ecclesiastical law and tradition.

In fact, in the eyes of the Papacy, France will then become an

insurgent country, as she was after the Revolution of 1789, and as England was after the Reformation. The country will have to be recaptured from the devil (of whose material existence Pius X. has no manner of doubt); and the Church when she wishes to recover a country which has risen against her spiritual domination, acts exactly as a Government would do in bringing back a province under her temporal domination. She evacuates parishes and dioceses where the pastors no longer receive aid; recalls those pastors who peacefully administer the graces of Heaven and the Sacraments, and sends congregations, whose members, dispersed in little groups throughout the country but united by a single pontifical control, try to make trouble in the public and commercial life of the revolted country, so as to excite the populace against the Government and bring in an order of things favourable to the re-establishment of Catholic supremacy.

It was thus in England at the end of the 16th century. The Jesuits controlled an incursion of seminary priests, who organised the invasion of Ireland by Spanish troops, and then Babington's plot against Queen Elizabeth, quickly followed by the Armada expedition. In France, where Louis XV. obtained an order for their dissolution from the Pope, even at a time when nothing menaced the Gallican Church, they reappeared under false names the moment that Church was in danger. In 1791 they organised at St. Malo a Society of the Heart of Jesus, and by their participation in the civil wars waged against the Revolution won the secret recognition of the Pope in 1801, before they were recognised officially in 1814. After the coming Disestablishment they and other monks will employ all the modern methods which have been tried in recent years, congresses, brotherhoods, conferences, journals for Catholic propaganda, campaigns against the credit of the State in order to induce peasants and artisans to withdraw their funds from the savings banks, to depreciate the funds, promote the emigration of capital, and so on. They will apply the principles of the International Federation of the Sacred Heart, the programme of which contains the following declaration: "The Federation requires of its adherents an absolute rupture with liberalism; the only means of putting an end to religious persecution is to overthrow the Republic." They will say, as a Jesuit said at Lourdes in 1901 before an immense audience of soldiers and sailors: "Generals and admirals who are listening to me, officers, lieutenants and soldiers of France, forward with Saint Michael against the Revolution!"

In this campaign the monks, because they are probably performing a more efficacious, certainly a more conspicuous, task than the simple *curés*, will take their place and will oblige them either to become mere auxiliaries or themselves to enter the Orders. There will be an attempt to justify their pretensions by canon law. It will be said, for instance, that clergy on a war-footing need stricter discipline than

clergy on a peace-footing. Now the *curés*, bound to their bishops by a simple promise, do not owe them any *absolute* obedience, that is to say, obedience which allows no discussion; the monks, on the contrary, bound to their superiors by an actual vow, owe them *perfect* obedience, absolute and passive. That is why the Jesuits in the 18th century took care to oppose and to secure condemnation at the Court of Rome, under pretext of Jansenism, of the doctrine of the parochists, theologians of the Sorbonne and of Louvain, who from the 13th century on had taught the incompatibility of parochial functions with the monastic profession. And as the rule of the Jesuits precludes them from seeking ecclesiastical dignities, one of them, Nardi, wrote a huge book to prove that the function of the *curé* was not a dignity.

At the beginning of 1904 a French monk, the Most Reverend Père Dom Gréa, abbé of an order of regular canons, published a little book to show that "in these hours of difficulty" *curés* ought to be monks. "The religious life," he said, "far from being a superfluous accident, is on the contrary the most substantial and complete condition in the Church," whilst the secular life, tolerated but not recommended, is only "an imperfect element" in it. He quotes the bishops, Saint Eusebius, who appointed his clergy exclusively from among the monks, and Saint Augustine, Saint Basil and St. Martin, who obliged their priests to live the religious life. "The religious life was from the beginning set before all clerics placed in the hierarchy." He explains how the necessity of protecting the Church in the 13th and 16th centuries against heresy, dissipation and the "perils of a more advanced civilisation" modified the structure of the monastic orders to a form better adapted for the exercise of the apostolate; how the Jesuits represent the last and best type of regular clerics produced by this evolution, and how the continuous efforts of the Popes to withdraw the monks from episcopal authority demonstrate the "providential design" of a Church in which the monks shall act as the direct and usual representatives of the Holy Spirit amongst men. And he adds, "To-day do we not find at the very heart of many of the priests profound and secret aspirations after a common life? Why should it be that the priest can no longer attempt to satisfy them without leaving the ministry of the pastoral charge? Why may he not, in obedient service, offer to the Pope the virtues and the graces which take their source in and receive the ordinary guarantee from the religious state? Why should not those things which were possible in the days of St. Martin, St. Basil, and St. Augustine, be possible now?"

The substitution of monks for secular priests will produce two kinds of results. It will in the first place cause anxiety to the Government, which will have little trouble in finding in the laws of the Revolution and in M. de Pressensé's Bill means to defend itself. But the Church above all will suffer for it, for the secular priest will resist.

The competition will be both of an economic and a political character—of a political character because not all the priests will consent to make common cause with the reactionary parties who will seek their concurrence. The monks, suppressed by the Republic, will naturally ally themselves with the minority who still hope to overthrow her. But among the secular clergy many, who have sprung from the people and who favour democratic influences, will think otherwise. Very likely we shall see over again the conflicts which rent the Church of France at the time of the Revolution, when certain ecclesiastics submitted to the anti-canonical laws in order not to abandon profitable livings, whilst others conformed in order to insure the continuance of public worship, and the most exalted preached uncompromising resistance at the risk of provoking a systematic dechristianisation. These three sections hurled anathemas at one another, disputing the occupation of the temples, and by their divisions encouraged religious indifference and theo-philanthropy. Already the Jesuits, in order to compass the deposition of the Bishop of Laval, whose resistance to Pius. X. provoked the conflict of July last, have got up a petition against him, signed by loyalist Deputies, Senators, and Councillors General, District and Municipal, of the Department.

The competition between the monks and the secular priests will also take on an economic aspect, because the Catholics will have to pay directly for the cost of their worship and they will then be tempted to prefer the least expensive ministers. Now the monks can so arrange matters themselves as to appear at first less expensive than the secular priests. Both receive as payment for their spiritual intercession remunerations which are called honoraria or oblations, but which are used merely to supplement their incomes. For the secular clergy these incomes consist of stipends received and edifices granted, that is to say, property of which the capital remains in the hands of the State; whereas for the monks they are yielded from capital which they have gradually heaped up and of which they are still the owners (for the administrative liquidation prescribed by the law of 1901 has had insignificant results, owing to the frauds practised by the Congregations and tolerated by the tribunals). The 36 millions of the budget of public worship hitherto allotted to the secular priests represent a capital of a milliard, equal in value to the property possessed by the Congregations according to the official inquiry of 1900. But this milliard, after Disestablishment, will suddenly fail the secular priests, whilst the milliard belonging to the Congregations will still be at their disposal. It will be used to maintain worship during the first stage of the crisis, and principally in the towns where the monks have up till now concentrated their propaganda and where avaricious townsmen will particularly appreciate the advantages of a clergy setting up at its own expense.

In the country it may perhaps happen that peasants completely

detached from the faith will allow a monk to replace the *curé*; but it is quite certain that in other places, where they are accustomed to look upon their *curé* as a leader or a friend, they will agree to make some sacrifice in order to keep him. Then the priest, like the school-master of the Old Régime, will board and lodge in the house of the most wealthy inhabitants; he will use for his churches those old chapels which are to be found all over the country of France in the midst of large estates and which have been turned into granaries. These arrangements, in conformity with the hospitable customs of the rural population, will strengthen the intimate relationship between the *curés* and their flocks, and if the monks attempt to invade the parish they will be expelled. Thus they will experience more difficulty in supplanting modest country *curés* loved by their parishioners, than in dominating, in towns conquered by the friars, bishops who have been deprived of their palaces, their carriages, their cathedrals and all the apparatus which preserved their prestige.

The parochial clergy will have only one method by which they can offer a slight resistance to the competing monks. They can organise societies for the maintenance of public worship. Several bishops have already done this on behalf of ecclesiastics whose stipends have been suppressed by the Government on account of their aggressive attitude. But time will be required to organise these associations for practical purposes, whereas the Congregations have for a long time been in regular action. Besides this the monks, in exclusive possession of their property, will act with greater independence than priests who are obliged to be circumspect with their contributing laymen. We shall no doubt see secular societies interfering in the spiritual administration of parishes, as they did in Paris from 1795 to 1801, choosing *curés* contrary to the modern doctrine of the canonists, and imposing conditions on pain of dismissal.

In a word, if the Separation takes place we must expect an attempt on the part of the Congregations to snatch the control of the parishes from the secular priests. But we can also foresee that the *curés*, disgusted at the alliance of the monks with the reactionary parties and exasperated by the fear of losing their employment, will resist energetically: a dangerous conflict for the Church, but one which will favour the power of the laity.

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Another struggle will probably arise amongst the secular clergy themselves, in consequence of the demands which will be preferred by the *ecclesiastical proletariat*. This designation includes the whole of what are called the lower clergy, consisting of 6,000 pastors and 28,000 officiating priests, chaplains or *curés* of the third class, in contradistinction to the upper clergy who comprise 84 archbishops or bishops, 3,000 *curés* and 300 vicars-general or canons. We may point out five

grievances which will be formulated by the 34,000 priests of the inferior clergy against the 3,400 priests of the higher clergy.

The principal grievance is in regard to the present precarious position of ecclesiastics in charge of the religious services of the smaller parishes, which means nearly all the parishes. They are called *desservants*, to distinguish them from the pastors in charge of the other parishes, called *curés*. Whilst the *curés* have a permanent tenure which the bishops cannot take from them without regular procedure, the *desservants* have only a permissive tenure which the bishops can take from them arbitrarily.

Before the Revolution all *curés* were irremovable. But Bonaparte, anxious to turn the bishops into "purple prefects," allowed them to impose precarious conditions on their priests in order the better to control them. The Concordat provided for two kinds of parishes; one kind, to the number of 3,000, called *cures*, the service of which was to be paid by the State, and all the others called *succursales*, the ministry to be paid by the Commune. Neither the Pope, nor the French Government had any intention of giving the priests of the *succursales* less protection against the authority of the bishops than the priests of the *cures*; but the bishops misused the name *succursales*, which formerly was applied simply to a curate temporarily engaged to supplement the *curé* at some distant chapel, and they treated the *desservants* of the new *succursales* as if they were curates of the old kind, that is to say, as if they were in charge of temporary missions. They got into the way of moving them about continually. Between 1830 and 1840 no less than 150 changes are computed to have been made on an average every quarter in some of the dioceses, and in 1837 out of 16,500 priests of this class, 3,500 were moved against their own wish. Two priests resolved, in 1839, to publish a book on "The Present State of the Clergy in France," and Pope Gregory XVI., after reading it, exclaimed: "I was not aware that the bishops of France were so much like popes." But in 1845, when called upon to give his judgment as to the condition of the *desservants*, he replied that he would rather wait before prescribing any change, because he was unwilling to believe that the bishops could make a wrong use of their powers.

Nevertheless the Council of Trent laid it down that "a special and "perpetual pastor" should be assigned to each parish. In January, 1863, the Portuguese Government, in order to obtain the removal of *curés* who were in disagreement with their policy, introduced the French discipline into Portugal by decree. But the Patriarch of Lisbon, as a peer of the realm, pointed out that this decision violated both the conscience of the bishops and the dignity of the *curés*; the other bishops followed him in his resistance, and three months later the Government annulled the decree. In France the bishops, sole inventors of the arbitrary régime of which the priests complained,

have not only never attempted to correct it, but have prevented the Government from correcting it. In 1873 the Minister of Public Worship proposed to give the right of irremovability to all *desservants* over 50 years of age. But the Archbishop of Rennes, in a letter approved of by nearly all the other bishops, simply replied that the Government was acting "without taking into account the decrees of the Councils and the Bulls of the Popes which expressly forbid, under penalty of the severest censure, any attempt whatever on the part of the secular power to meddle with the spiritual government of the Church."

Although the Government, under the present system, does not meddle with the nomination of the *desservants*, it can and does frequently demand their removal. During the Monarchy of July a bishop changed 60 priests at one stroke because they were displeasing to the mayors of their communes; another one changed 35 in one week; another moved them all between 1836 and 1842, and the peasants of that district say that there was nothing to be seen on the highroads but dogs or *curés* in course of removal. In 1832 the Prefect of the Sarthe wrote to all the mayors of his department: "Does it appear to you advantageous that your *desservants* should be changed? I beg you to reply with as little delay as possible." No doubt the Prefects of the anti-clerical Republic intervene less frequently than the Prefects of the Monarchy in the allocation of parochial livings, so that the mere working of a Republican régime tends to correct episcopal despotism. But when they desire the removal of a priest they still write in the style of the following letter: "*Monsieur* the bishop, on several occasions I have vainly requested the removal of three of your *desservants*: if you do not concede my demand kindly consider the relations between the prefecture and the bishopric as broken off from this day forward."

When the bishop does not remove the *desservants* in order to please the Government, he moves or recalls them to punish them for obeying the law. Thus the Archbishop of Lyons prevents his priests from applying a law of 1893 which subjects the parish finances to an effective control. The *desservant* of the parish of St. George's wished to obey the law; and in order to discourage him the Archbishop and the lay administrators of the parish got rid successively of the two curates who supported him, together with the heating apparatus, the gas supply, the beadle and the organ; soon the faithful left off attending such an inhospitable church; then the priest was reproached with having compromised the interests of the faith; then he was bound over not to apply the law, and on his refusing he was suspended from his duties.

In order to avert the illwill of the Prefects, mayors and bishops, and to obtain a title to remain and escape the liability to removal, the *desservants* must flatter influential individuals.

"What is a poor dependent and removable priest to do," said the canonist Dieulin, "with no defence or support unless he stoops to the humiliating rôle of a courtier, a flatterer, or 'a slave?' And when he is nevertheless displaced he reaps in his new parish the contempt which he has perforce deserved by his docility in the old. One of these priests wrote to a friend in 1902: "During the electoral period, at the word of two Republicans, the bishop gave me the order to leave my parish immediately. Arrived here, I suffered a martyrdom in my first years; at night, especially on Sunday evening, they came shouting at my windows in a loud voice: 'Go away from here, we don't want a priest who has been dismissed.'" The 30,000 French *desservants* run the risk of similar misfortunes, to such an extent that the abbé Allignol, who first brought their grievances to light in 1839, might still write now, as he wrote then: "The *desservant* has fallen to the depths of abasement and abjectness: slavery like his has never been seen."

The second grievance of the ecclesiastical proletariat consists in the disuse of the ecclesiastical tribunals which were called *officialités*, whose business it was to regulate differences between the bishops and the lower clergy. The bishops have taken advantage of the non-mention of these tribunals in the Concordat to neglect the re-establishment of them. The bishops' jurisdiction is exercised in secret; without indictment, without public accusation, without examination and without discussion, they award canonical penalties which not only prevent priests from celebrating mass and from directing their parishes, but deprive them in addition of the profits attached to the administration of the sacraments.

They have at times been assisted against this despotism by the civil authorities. In 1857 the Council of State decided that a bishop cannot oblige the *curés* to renounce in writing their right of suing in case of illegal dismissal. In 1903 the papers took up a scandalous case of a priest who was being persecuted by the Archbishop of Paris for having denounced the immorality of a *curé*. He had been assigned to a position inferior to his preceding engagements, and the revenue of which was insufficient for his needs; and having wished to defend himself by a lawsuit at the Court of Rome, he had run into debt. The Committee on Petitions of the Chamber of Deputies, impressed by his case, declared that the administration ought to help him to obtain pecuniary indemnity, for, they said: "here we have a citizen who has suffered at the hands of his superiors an abuse of power for which he can reasonably demand redress. The Committee requests the Minister of Public Worship to do whatever is possible with the Archbishop of Paris to secure that justice shall be done and material reparation made."

Sometimes Rome herself has taken up the defence of the *curés*.

In 1903 a pontifical judgment decreed that the Bishop of Nancy was wrong in obliging a priest to take a less lucrative parish than he before enjoyed, and condemned the bishop to pay the priest 400 francs a year. Even as early as 1852 the Pope had approved the guarantees fixed by the Council of Westminster in the case of the recall of priests, and in 1878 he corrected as insufficient the rules of the Council of Baltimore for the same purpose. With regard to France, he contents himself with readjusting the most striking cases of injustice.

The three remaining grievances of the clergy have to do with the examinations which the French bishops no longer hold for the assignment of livings; with the synods at which the statutes of each diocese are discussed and which have very rarely been called together:—only in 1853, 1873, and 1900; and finally with the pensions for sick or infirm priests for which no sufficient funds have been allocated.

Thus the bishops have taken advantage of the fact that the Revolution and even the Concordat had placed the Church of France in a quite peculiar position, to cease to apply the few canonical rules which might secure to the priests democratic guarantees against favouritism and arbitrary dealing. We may be sure that after the abolition of the Concordat the clergy will demand the general application of the ecclesiastical laws.

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We have all the more reason to expect this because under the régime of the Concordat, discord is already breaking out between the bishops and the priests.

In the first place it is provoked by the tendency of the priests to form a professional federation, a tendency betrayed by the holding of two ecclesiastical congresses, at Rheims in 1890 and at Bourges in 1900, organised by a permanent committee which is now arranging for a third. The ostensible object of these congresses is to combat religious indifference; but as they were attended by 800 priests representing the young, educated, modern, democratic, and therefore active and ambitious portion of the clergy, and as also the gathering together of these priests leads perforce to the communication of their most pressing thoughts, they can hardly avoid preparing a programme of material emancipation directed against the bishops. One of their organisers, the abbé Garnier, wrote in his journal, *Le Peuple Français*: "Would it not be a good thing if the priests could from time to time do what is done by men of all professions? Have not the industrial and commercial classes, the working-men and all who have a common aim and collective interests, learned to act together?" And another priest wrote in the *Croix de Provence*: "The time has gone by when priests who wished to go forward to the conquest of freedom of association, were looked upon as insubordinate. The Congress at Bourges will have an important bearing on the religious history of our century." And, indeed, it is a remarkable occurrence that on the

13th September, 1900, the Congress should have listened to and approved of a report by the learned canonist, Duballet, on the inconveniences of the liability to removal of the *desservants* and on the proper means of remedying it—namely, the substitution of stable appointments for the present uncertainty, and the institution of a tribunal which shall pronounce upon them and be a guarantee in conformity with the modern practice of the American Church. Thus the ecclesiastical congresses are studying the means of checking arbitrary episcopal power, just as the workmen's congresses study the means of checking the arbitrary powers of employers.

More recently the Archbishop of Autun, who claims to guide the other bishops because he is old and is a member of the French Academy, had got up against the Bishop of Dijon, as a Democrat, the cabal which brought about the rupture of July last between the Vatican and the French Government. On the 22nd February of this year the pupils of the seminary of Dijon refused to accept ordination to the priesthood at the hands of the bishop, because, they said, he was a freemason. They ended by submitting, but the incident caused some sensation among the ecclesiastics, and a Roman prelate said to a journalist: "Anarchy is creeping into the sanctuary. The French clergy are no longer a model of discipline. The critical spirit predominates. Rome is known only as a place for lawsuits, accusations and denunciations. You would be surprised at the amount of work the French Church gives us in lawsuits of priests against their bishops. Every man wishes to examine into, scrutinise and pronounce judgment on the commands and the conduct of his superiors; every man asks himself whether he is going to obey or not. Catholic France is passing through a very serious crisis. Discussion introduces disorder everywhere. Politics add to the turmoil. Everyone wishes to command, to be head of some party; but the soldiers are lacking, for no one now will obey. Now the seminarists are joining in the fray. Last year the clandestine correspondence was brought to our notice of a group who were carrying on an active propaganda of ultra-democratic and liberal theories amongst their fellow-pupils in all the seminaries."

Thus the democratic tendencies which are only held back by the Concordat threaten to create divisions between the bishops and the lower clergy the moment the separation of Church and State has taken place. On the other hand the monks threaten to dispute with the secular priests the control of the parishes, not only in order to confiscate the profits, but also in order that ultramontane and reactionary directions may be in force there. French Statesmen, when they plan out the new Catholic régime, will have to consider whether they ought to leave the Church entirely free to tear herself to pieces, or whether they should place her in tutelage so that the democrats may rule her and endeavour to modernise her.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

IS PEACE IN SIGHT?

PEACE RUMOURS.

HUMANITY is heartily sick of the soul-searing deeds in which the international duel abounds, and would gladly see them enshrined in superlatives and transferred from the columns of the Press to the pages of history. War, it is urged, may be necessary, may even be a heaven-sent storm clearing the moral atmosphere, but it ought not to degenerate into superhuman frenzy nor interfere with the trade and commerce of peaceful peoples. Some bounds should be set to its duration. *Ne quid nimis*. Russia has surely done enough, nay more than enough for her military prestige. The defence of Port Arthur is a miracle of brave heroism and endurance. The march northwards from Laoyan was a splendid strategic achievement. The names of Generals Stoessel and Kuropatkin may henceforth be fitly classed with those of Suvaroff and Barclay de Tolly. And what more can Muscovy long for? Japan, too, has ample grounds to be contented with the sheaves of laurels she has reaped. Lately a despised race, she has swiftly made good her claim to rank as a highly enlightened nation with the first military and naval Powers of the globe. Her land forces are now to those of the world what the troops of Moltke were to the armies of Europe thirty years ago, while her navy has solved a problem more arduous than any with which Great Britain was ever yet confronted: smiting to remain unsmitten. In a word, it is a nation which is not *parvenue* but *arrivée*. Thus unstintingly are each belligerent's claims to undying glory allowed by generous journalists, on the sole condition that they both display their good sense and moderation by turning their swords into ploughshares for the 'sake of their neighbours' peace.

Nor could a more auspicious moment, it is urged, be chosen for the cessation of hostilities than the present. Port Arthur once fallen after a heroic existence, the Japanese cannot hope to advance beyond Harbin. Therefore they may be said to have made the most they could of the offensive, as the Russians have made the most of the defensive. To continue the struggle would only be to reverse the rôles and finish the game at last with stalemate. Certainly neither side can hope for a decisive victory, because Russia is unable to dictate terms of peace in Tokio, and Japan in Moscow. To prolong the struggle, therefore, would be to exhaust the resources of both nations for the good of neither. For Russia is debarred from winning a dominant position on the Pacific shore, while Japan is powerless wholly to expel her from the Far East. And it should be borne in mind that the position of affairs in Eastern Asia has greatly changed since the outbreak of the war. China has thrown open several ports to international commerce, which can never therefore become exclusively Russian. Korea has been placed in the charge of the schoolmaster and drill-sergeant, and rescued from the vivisection room, and the North American Republic has entered upon its new duties as one of the guardians of the East. Unless, therefore, the past can be recalled, Russia cannot take up the threads of the Chinese skein where she lately left them. Consequently, the only reasonable course open to her is to abandon the pursuit of the unattainable and make the best of the things within her reach. Time cannot make them better, and delay may render them worse. Such, in brief, are the arguments of the adversaries of the war.

And circumstantial rumours are current concerning the measures devised by powerful peacemakers to reconcile the two enemies. Now it is France who has tendered her good offices to her ally; now it is Great Britain or the United States whose Government is making representations to Japan; now the honest broker, Germany, is having a golden bridge built over which the two foes may pass and meet on common ground to discuss terms of peace. And if Pressmen were plenipotentiaries of the belligerents there would be no ground for misgivings. But officially neither Russia nor Japan has as yet shown the slightest intention of laying down arms, nor can any political prophet even approximately foretell how long the struggle will last. Japan indeed is willing to make peace at any stage of the war on conditions which, reasonable and moderate in themselves, imply so much that is unacceptable to Russia that the Tsar's advisers refuse to entertain the notion. The conditions at present prevailing, or else the angle of vision of one or other of the belligerents, must alter very considerably before the decision to carry on the war *à outrance* is modified, and as the ways in which this change can come about are very limited, it is not impossible to conjure up a mental picture of the process.

HOW RUSSIA HOPES TO END THE WAR.

A decisively successful campaign would of course offer the simplest and most satisfactory solution, for it would mean not only the end of the war, but the beginning of a long period of peace. It was Russia's ideal from the outset when her Press scoffed at the notion that a little nation of "monkeys" should wage war on the Colossus of the north and many of her military men boasted that they would drive the Japs before them with broomsticks. And even now that they have failed to disperse them with heavy and quick-firing guns served by heroic soldiers, it is still the dream of many: Japan, they say, must be deprived of her navy and forbidden to build ships in future. Now a crushing defeat of that kind implies neither more nor less than the invasion of the Mikado's Empire by Russia and therefore the command of the sea. To onlookers such a consummation may seem impossible. But as yet Russia ignores the word. Perseverance and chance, she holds, may achieve miracles, and she is making ready to take the tide at the flood. The Vladivostok ships, together with those of the Baltic Squadron, may yet retrieve the disasters associated, with the names of Makaroff and Withoeft. In that case a powerful fleet of transports would be needed to land an army on the Japanese coast. Accordingly the Russian naval authorities are gathering them together. Thus the British steamer *Calchas*, being a fine ship, would answer the purpose admirably. So, too, would the *Allanton*. Hence the attempt to confiscate them. That theory which is borne out by facts would partially account for the difference between the treatment meted out to the German *Arabia* on the one hand, and that received by the British *Calchas* on the other. Both were seized in the same zone, both were carrying cargo of the same kind, and therefore both ought to have been dealt with on the same lines. The Russians proclaimed the cargo contraband, and if that description was true of the *Calchas*, it was equally applicable to the *Arabia*. Yet the latter vessel was very soon released, while the former was detained, and a large portion of its cargo confiscated, including flour, and official questions about the cause of this discrimination have been met with official silence. A clue to the mystery lies in the pressure which has been brought to bear upon the owners of the British steamer to part with her property by means of a deed of sale. "Choose between confiscation on the charge of carrying contraband or sale at a reasonable price," is the form which this alternative would take if put into words. Now intimidation of that kind is to be deprecated as amounting to systematic evasion of international law and contempt of the higher principles which underlie all legality. And coming from the creators of The Hague Tribunal, it is a stumbling stone to the friends of Russia. If the owners of the *Calchas* forfeited their right to retain possession of their property, the Act for which confisca-

tion is a just punishment should be quickly and conclusively proven. And when it has been clearly brought home, it should be visited on the owners in the way in which the same breach of neutrality was visited on the owners of the *Arabia*. That is at once international law and equity, but to offer to purchase before the right to confiscate has been finally adjudged upon, is a procedure calculated to injure Russia's prestige in the eyes of the world, and for that reason, if on no higher grounds, it ought never to have been adopted. But it is impolitic over and above, because it gives the whole case away. To propose to purchase ships at their full market price or more, when you claim the right of taking them without any consideration at all, and are vigorously endeavouring to exercise that right, is implicitly to admit that you have no case. And on the other hand to seize neutral vessels on the high seas, on a false charge, in the hope that their owners, dreading ruinous delay, will agree to part with them for a money consideration, is to inaugurate a system of commandeering in which the naval Powers of the world will not readily acquiesce.

But whatever the rights and wrongs of the manœuvre, it is a clear token of the hopes and aims of the Russian Admiralty. Transports may be needed at a future stage of the campaign to carry troops to the enemy's country and enable the Russian Government to dictate terms of peace in the capital of Japan, and provision is being made in time. To the outsider the contingency thus provided for may appear remote, but Russia takes long views and indulges in comforting hopes. If her forecast come true, the campaign may be truly said to have only begun, for a considerable time will surely pass before the brave islanders are driven from the mainland. But once overtaken by that fate, Japan's career as a Great Power will be ended, and it will be superfluous to forbid her to maintain a powerful navy.

JAPAN'S DELUSION THAT RUSSIA'S FINANCES ARE NEARLY EXHAUSTED.

Very different is the outlook as it appears to a large section of the Japanese through the mellowing haze of distance. Reports of Russia's impoverishment, of bad harvests and of foreign loans arranged far ahead have seemingly engendered the idea that Russia cannot long hold out under the financial strain caused by the war. Her free reserves will go, her credit break down, the gold standard disappear and bankruptcy inevitably ensue. And as money is the nerve of war, peace must follow upon insolvency. The conclusion is correct enough, but the premisses are imaginary. Russia is certainly suffering heavily from the war. Money is scarce, trade is dull, industry stagnant, even inter-imperial commerce, say between Siberia and the European provinces, is at a standstill; mills and factories are working short hours, tens of thousands of hands are without employment, the

pinch of distress is everywhere severe, in the South the crops have partially failed, crimes against property are on the increase. But the staying powers of the Treasury are on a par with those of the common soldier, and the end is not yet. The population may be poor, but the State is wealthy. And, what is more, its reputation as a debtor is good. Russia has never repudiated her debts, like other nations. She has always paid her way and is now enjoying the fruits of her honesty in the soundness of her credit. She can float loans without difficulty, and is said to have arranged with German bankers a loan which will not be issued before the close of the year.

As for her gold standard, it is in no danger of disappearing just yet, because most of the expenses of the campaign are being paid in silver and paper. It is not the cost of the war at the present stage of hostilities therefore which could imperil the metallic standard, but a serious disturbance of the balance of trade; and of that there is at present no likelihood. Last year Russia's exports exceeded her imports by £38,000,000 sterling, thanks to causes which are largely artificial. That balance to the good enables her to buy gold in the open market which she then hoards as unproductively as the French peasant hoarded his savings some sixty years ago. Having issued a loan the interest is paid upon it by wheat which the peasant, however sorely he may sometimes need it himself, is forced to sell to the exporters. For after the ingathering of the harvest his taxes must be paid, and the low railway freights act as a steep incline down which the cereals roll onwards to the sea ports. Therefore it is only when Russia's exports become less than her imports, as might perhaps happen were the peasant well fed, or else after the war has gone on for a considerable time longer, that any outward signs of financial exhaustion can become visible. Economic exhaustion is manifest enough, but it has no immediate effect upon the Treasury. If it is acting, as some maintain, like a poison, its operation is slow, too slow perhaps to affect the course of the present war, which will not go on for ever. Few people seriously believe that hostilities can be carried on longer than another eighteen months at the very most, and the majority assume that peace will be concluded much sooner. And in either of these alternatives, Russia will be able to meet all demands upon her purse. If the unexpected were to happen and the struggle were to be protracted say for another two years, then even the finances of the Tsardom would not stand the strain and the gold itself would probably give place to a debased paper currency.

But what, people ask, would have meanwhile befallen Japan?

That the entire financial and economic system of Russia stands in need of re-organisation is admitted on all hands. The burdens on land and on labour, the incidence of taxation, the drawing off of the resources of the centre to the extremities of the Empire, where they are spent in unprofitable enterprises, and even the fundamental aims

of her fiscal policy call for revision and reform. But the fruits of the wasteful methods of the past and present will in any case mature in the near future. No reform, however radical or timely, can arrest their development. All loans, for instance, seem to be issued in conformity with the principle that the present generation has a right to live at the cost of the future, and that the present generation means chiefly the State. Hence the expenses of to-day are the burdens of to-morrow. The last issue of treasury bonds for 150,000,000 roubles is a case in point. The Minister of Finances might have contracted a foreign loan without serious difficulty. The rate of interest would perhaps have been higher than the Government cared to pay and the other terms correspondingly distasteful. But drawbacks of that kind are more than outweighed by the advantages which a loan raised abroad offers over a loan floated at home, and it was in any case open to the Government to reserve its right to pay back the capital or effect a conversion within a very few years. As money is scarce in Russia and trade and industry are consequently slack, to withdraw part of such capital as is still available for home enterprise seems contrary to the principles of cautious finance. That there is no demand at present for investments in Russia is shown by the fall in the prices of Government stock and by the fact that the Savings Banks figure among the subscribers to the new loan, although it brings in only 3.6 per cent., which is exactly what the Bank itself pays to depositors. What makes the measure stranger still are the circumstances that the Government, according to its own showing, has no immediate need of money and can according to all present indications obtain all the funds it will need for next year's campaign by the loan to be floated in Germany before next spring.

These and analogous short-sighted measures are all sins which will be visited on the children even unto the third and fourth generation. But on the course of the war they will have no effect whatever, unless the campaign be protracted beyond January, 1906. Whatever therefore the real expenses occasioned by the struggle may be, and they are certainly in excess of the actual outlay, Russia will readily find the wherewithal to pay them. Financial exhaustion therefore is not likely to change the present warlike temper of the Russian Government, and if the Japanese put their trust in that they are leaning on a broken reed.

RUSSIAN INTERNAL TROUBLES WILL NOT END THE WAR.

Another section of the chapter of accidents which may, it is hoped, bring the campaign to a speedy end is the fermentation which has for a long time been going on in the interior of the Russian Empire. The present Minister of the Interior, Prince Svetopolk Mirsky, has

publicly admitted what everybody knew already that the war is unpopular in the country. People who could joyfully lay down their lives in defence of their fatherland and their Tsar find it hard to identify Manchuria with either. They had already grudged their millions to that far-off province and its costly defences, and now they are still more unwilling to sacrifice milliards and their lives over and above. They may appear short-sighted or sagacious according to the point of view of the observer, but they cannot be described as enthusiastic in the cause of conquest. Moreover, a large section of them hold that political and social reform at home is more urgently needed than the maintenance of military prestige abroad; and the measures adopted by M. Plehve to check all manifestations of this belief produced a degree of bitterness which it would be difficult to exaggerate. The results were deplorable. Feelings which might have found vent in harmless criticism assumed the form of crimes; for a moment the outlook seemed dismal to many, and various panaceas were suggested which a few months ago could not have been openly alluded to. Among other remedies the creation of a homogeneous cabinet was advocated as if that institution could effect any perceptible change for better or for worse so long as all other conditions remained intact.

But admitting the existence of a strong anti-governmental current of opinion, it is easy to overrate its force and to mistake its trend. That it will paralyse the will or weaken the power of the Government to carry on the struggle until the tide of fortune has turned is highly improbable. For the influence of public opinion in politics, like the value of counters in play, draws its significance from something more solid behind it. And in Russia there is nothing. A constitutional people dissatisfied with its Government can overthrow it at the ballot box, but in the Tsardom the masses lack organisation, combination and even the right of giving utterance to their views. Hence they play no part in modifying the course of politics, and their likes and dislikes, however reasonable, go unheeded. How long this state of things will endure is a question which has no bearing upon the duration of the war. For within the next six months it is hoped, nay believed, the rôles of the belligerents will have changed: General Kuropatkin will have assumed the offensive and Marshal Oyama will be returning southwards until he has definitely lost his foothold in Manchuria and then in Korea. And once the fortune of war favours Russia, the pæans of victory will drown the murmurs of discontent; Achilles, the bravest of the Greeks, makes short work of Thersites, the ugly caviller.

If M. Plehve's life had been spared, the opposition between the governing classes and the governed might have waxed intense to a degree at which the consequences would have been incalculable. For he, almost invariably aroused bitterness by his methods and never dispelled

misgivings by his aims. Indeed, his attitude could not have been much different had it been inspired by a spirit of wanton contradiction, instead of a desire to attain essential aims with the least possible friction. The harm he inflicted upon the institutions which he set himself to protect seems irremediable, while the damage he caused to the elements of the nation which gave vital force to those institutions, although serious enough, is neither irreparable nor lasting. Russia's recuperative forces are well-nigh miraculous, and in twenty years' time the nation will be stronger and greater than ever before. But only on condition that the fetters which at present bind it are struck off, and of this there is as yet no sign. The appointment of Prince Svietopolk Mirsky to the post of Minister of the Interior is indeed construed by many as an indication that the ship of State will change its course, but the strongest reason alleged for this belief is the difference between the personality of the present Minister and that of his immediate predecessor. And nothing could be less conclusive. The friends of Prince Svietopolk Mirsky unstintingly laud the General's charm of manner, breadth of view and mildness of method. They add that nothing in the nature of cruelty or even harshness have ever yet been alleged against him, although he occupied several posts which abounded not merely in opportunities but in temptations. On the other side it is urged against him personally that if he was never carried away by immoderate zeal, neither has his activity been characterised by initiative or crowned by such success as tangible and lasting results ensure. In a word his talents are of a purely negative order. And against the system which he is called upon to administer it is objected that it is meant to be a continuation not a new departure. No compromise has been offered, no change announced or foreshadowed: the ultimate aims of M. Plehve are the ultimate aims of Prince Svietopolk Mirsky, and the most that will be modified is the adjustment of means to the ends. Whatever truth there may be in those hopes and misgivings, there would seem to be some grounds for assuming that since the death of M. Plehve the internal crisis has temporarily lost its acuteness, and that the new Minister who is praised for steering clear of extremes in ways and means may, like General Kuropatkin, count upon the patience of his countrymen.

The internal state of Russia is the resultant of the economic social and political order of things established there. The strain it imposes on the people must be relieved sooner or later, but the alterations involved are too vast to be undertaken in presence of the foe. As in the financial domain, the social and political seeds sown in the past and present will bring forth fruit in the future, but hardly before the war has come to a natural end. It would be a strange error if the Japanese or their friends in Europe counted upon the volcanic movements of the Russian Enceladus to cause a diversion favourable to their schemes. It is in the highest degree probable that the settlement

of all outstanding differences between the people and their Government will be adjourned until the issues between Japan and the Tsardom have been definitely decided and the day of reckoning has come.

PEACE IN SIGHT.

Bankruptcy and internal disorder being thus eliminated from the list of causes which may bring the war to an end, there remain only considerations of a political and military order. Mediation has been discussed and dismissed as distasteful to Russia and intervention is clearly impossible. Consequently the campaign must be brought to a close by the initiative of the belligerents themselves moved by the conviction that they have nothing to gain by re-enacting time after time the harrowing scenes of Laoyan. Russia cannot possibly annihilate a nation of forty-seven millions before whose armies her own have uniformly retreated. Her Press indeed still advocates perseverance until peace is dictated in Tokio. And viewed in the abstract this aim may be attainable, but considered as a concrete problem it is insoluble. For it implies among other things a navy of twice or thrice the strength of the enemy's, and therefore a war of at least eight or ten years, during which the needful battleships would be constructed and armed. It further involves the despatch of not less than twenty or twenty-five army corps to the seat of war at the now fixed rate of thirty thousand men a month, and all the expenses incident to their mobilisation. And lastly it means the stagnation of trade and industry, the decline of credit, the disappearance of the gold standard, the recrudescence of internal disorders and even the intervention of foreign Powers interested in the survival of Japan. And no Government could face such a consummation. Hence war *à outrance* is wholly out of the question and the oracles which point to the inexhaustible resources of the northern Colossus and amateur photographers who give us snapshots of the gold piled up in the Treasury vaults of St. Petersburg are shooting very wide of the mark. The issues depend upon other factors which they have left unheeded.

But if Russia could and did mobilise all her resources, military and financial, and were on the point of crushing her enemy, she would have lost far more and gained immeasurably less than by concluding peace to-day. For the most favourable terms she could then obtain would fall very far short of her pristine expectations and demands. Compensation in China could not possibly form part of a treaty concluded between two Powers who have no suzerain rights over that empire. Other States equally interested would make their voices heard and cause their wishes to be respected. And neither in territory nor in finances could Japan be utterly crushed. To what purpose therefore would these enormous sacrifices of men and money have been made? To this question even the Russian war party would be at a loss to

formulate a satisfactory answer, and the Russian statesmen who hold aloof from that party put and answered the question long before the war. At present there are good grounds for believing that it is being studied with a renewed and lively interest and a view to consequent action. Nor do those considerations by any means exhaust the subject: A Japan forced to assent to a humiliating peace would be a chronic danger to Russia. She would prepare for a future war with a degree of energy, foresight and self-abnegation which would culminate in results surpassing the brilliant successes she has scored during the past twenty-five years. In that case not only must Russia keep a standing army of eight hundred thousand men in Manchuria ready for all emergencies, and double her military and naval budget, but she must also transfer the centre of all her forces to the Far East and continue to lavish the resources of the centre on the extremities of the Empire. And that is a contingency which even the Autocracy cannot face.

But "war to the bitter end," as now advocated by the Russian Press and believed in by the bulk of newspaper readers throughout the world, would in reality take a very different course from that sketched above. With the Baltic coasts deprived of the fleet, the Western frontiers denuded of soldiers, the State coffers empty, the population impoverished, public credit gone and public opinion hostile to the Government, the voice of the foreign peacemaker would fall upon the now unwilling ears as balm upon wounds. Even eighteen months hence Russia's vital forces would be at such a low ebb that the mediation which is scornfully rejected to-day would be welcomed with a sigh of relief. Those Russian publicists who deem no sacrifice too great for the upholding of the prestige of their country base their roseate forecast of a long campaign on the theory that Russia can dispatch a million soldiers to the front, whereas Japan's effective army is limited to six hundred thousand men. But as a matter of fact whatever may be the number of trained soldiers at the disposal of the Russian Government, it cannot send more than thirty-five thousand men a month to the seat of war, and consequently in a year from now it would possess there at the very most an army of seven hundred and fifty thousand troops all told. As for Japan's resources, it would be rash to rely upon calculations which have no better basis than had the Russian prediction of an easy victory and an expedition to Tokio seven months ago. Her strength and her weakness are known only to herself. But it is no secret that next year she can send to the front at least 240,000 men who began their military service in December, 1903, to say nothing of the National Guard, which is of quite recent formation. In a word, for another eighteen months the land forces on both sides will hold the balance pretty evenly, and Russia cannot confidently hope to do more than gain a success here and there, which would leave things much as they are at present. As time goes

on the conditions of the Far Eastern problem are shifting. New ports are being thrown open to international commerce ; China is awakening from the torpor of ages and groping about in the footsteps of Japan ; Korea is being drilled and educated ; the American Republic is seeking and finding its level in the Pacific ; Japan's prestige is rapidly growing and in two years' time the Far Eastern ward for whose custody Russia has sacrificed so much will have reached full majority and outgrown her guardianship. Even now her place has been taken by Japan and the United States. For those and analogous reasons therefore Russia must make up her mind either to run all the risks, extrinsic as well as intrinsic, to which a war of extermination against Japan will of necessity expose her, or else to profit by one of those favourable opportunities which success in a pitched battle will afford to close accounts with her formidable enemy. Which of these alternatives will be ultimately chosen nobody can say with certainty. But unless signs and tokens are more than usually deceptive, it is safe to assume that peace is less far off than most people imagine.

E. J. DILLON.

SOME RECENT BOOKS.

AMONG the multitude of books on Japan published in England during recent years there is none that gives an account of that country's marvellous development from the Japanese point of view. Recognising the need of such a work, Mr. Alfred Stead conceived the idea of inducing the leading Japanese statesmen and officials to co-operate in the production of an authoritative survey of their national progress for the information of the Western world. With this purpose he made a special journey to Japan, where the idea was taken up with enthusiasm. The result is a very valuable and interesting volume, entitled "Japan by the Japanese: A Survey by its highest Authorities" (William Heinemann). Mr. Stead is fully justified in calling it a "unique work." Here we have the story of the most wonderful national development in the world's history, told by the men who have been in the van of the movement and are still directing its course. A glance through the contents-table is sufficient to show the authoritative character of the record. The chapter on "The Constitution of the Empire" is by Marquis Ito himself, who also contributes chapters on "The Growth of Japan" and "The Duties of Political Parties;" Baron Sannomiya, Master of Ceremonies of the Imperial Household, writes of "The Imperial Family;" Field-Marshal Yamagata discusses "The National Policy under the Constitution" and "The Growth of the Army," while "The Army of To-day" is described by Field-Marshal Oyama, and the Navy by Rear-Admiral Saito; the Minister of Justice deals with "The Imperial Diet" and "The Legal System;" Count Okuma with "Foreign Policy" and "The Growth of Education;" Baron Suyematsu with "Women's Education," "Art and Literature," "Police," and "The Problem of the Far East;" Baron Shibusawa is responsible for the section on "Commerce and Industries," while other chapters of special interest are those on Religion, by Professors Nitobe and Hozumi,

and "The Position of Women," by Professor Naruse, founder of the Women's University at Tokyo

The scope of this instructive volume is too wide, and its subject-matter too varied, for me to do more than note a few interesting points. *Prima facie*, it might be advanced against the book that, owing to the high official status of many of the contributors, it is more in the nature of a diplomatic communication to the outside world than an independent work—that is to say, that the writers are primarily concerned in impressing us with their country's strength and have no desire to show us the joints in the national armour. A perusal of the book itself does not confirm this idea. The various sections are not all of equal value, and in some cases the information might be fuller and more definite, but there is little that suggests the official behind the individual writer. The general impression is that of modesty and frank self-criticism. Especially is this the case in the sections that deal with economic matters. Baron Kaneko, Ex Minister of Justice and of Commerce and Agriculture compares the organisation of the Constitutional State to that of the human body. The Constitution and laws are the skeleton of the State, the army and navy form the skin which protects it from outside dangers, but the muscle and blood which vivify and preserve the whole are the economic state. "We have at least two things 'towards the completion of a perfect body—namely skeleton and flesh. "But in the point of muscle and blood which I term the economic state "it is far from being complete. It does not require much study to find "out that, in spite of the satisfactory development of our codes of laws "and of our military system the economic condition of our country is "most discouraging." This he attributes to the fact that the power of government has been exclusively held by the Samurai who have inherited from their two-sworded ancestors a contempt for earning money. Unless the question of how to create an economic Japan is solved he cannot see how his country can hold her position among the great nations of the world. Baron Shibusawa, President of the United Chambers of Commerce, writes in the same tone. "The lamentable "condition of our trading class will," he says "result in hampering the "progress of the country", and he fears that too much militarism will sap the life of the nation. He notes four peculiarities in the Japanese character which militate against business success. "Firstly impulsive-ness, which causes them to be enthusiastic during successful business, "and progressive even to rashness, when filled with enthusiasm, "secondly, lack of patience, which causes easy discouragement when "business is not so successful, thirdly, disinclination for union, and "fourthly, they do not honour credit as they should, that which is so "important a factor in financial success." Baron Shibusawa has done more than any other man for the business life of Japan, but he realises that what is wanted is foreign capital and that in the present low state of Japanese commercial morality the foreign capitalist cannot be

attracted. He also points out another, and probably a more effectual, barrier against the investment of foreign capital :—

A great proportion of the Japanese people are opposed to the idea of sharing any profits equally with any other nation. Their exclusiveness in this respect is a distinct relic of the old era. They ignore altogether the fact that with the assistance of foreign capital the profits would practically be quadrupled—the very idea of sharing with an outside Power is distasteful to them. For instance, I have been endeavouring for many years by word and deed to secure a revision of the laws relative to the ownership of land in Japan by foreigners. I may say that Marquis Ito and other public men are of my opinion in the matter. Because, however, of this exclusive element in Japan, it has still been found impossible to allow foreigners to own Japanese land. Until this change is made, foreign investors will naturally feel that there is little safety for their investments.

One of the most interesting sections in the volume is that dealing with Religion, in which Professor Nitobe gives us an interpretation—so far as it can be interpreted in specific terms—of *Bushido*, the so-called moral code of Japan. *Bushido*, literally “Fighting-Knight-Ways,” was the *noblesse oblige* of the Samurai class, and, as Professor Nitobe points out, it corresponds in many respects to European Chivalry in the Middle Ages. Like Chivalry, it was based on manhood and manliness and the inborn sense of honour ; and also like Chivalry—though Professor Nitobe does not tell us so—it probably had little real ethical influence over any but the most spiritual of its professors. To speak of it as “the moral code of Japan” seems to the present writer to overshoot the mark. At its best *Bushido* was the morality of a relatively small, though politically dominant, class who allowed no honour to the other classes of society. Professor Nitobe does not make it clear that *Bushido* ever exercised the slightest moral influence over the masses of the Japanese people, except in an adverse way by making them the object of social contempt. Ancestor-worship, of which Professor Hozumi gives a very interesting account, would seem to be the greatest ethical influence in Japan to-day as in all former ages. The primeval religion of Japan, Professor Hozumi tells us that it is universally practised by the people at the present moment, and that a man’s moral obligation to his ancestors is the strongest anchor he possesses. “There are three kinds of ancestor-worship in vogue : the “worship of the First Imperial Ancestor by all the people ; the worship “of the patron god of the locality, which is the remains of the worship “of clan-ancestors by clansmen ; and the worship of the family “ancestors by the members of that household.” Worship of the Imperial Ancestors is the national religion upon which the present Constitution of Japan is founded, as is clearly stated in its first article : “The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a *line of*

"Emperors unbroken for ages eternal." If a foreigner may venture an opinion, it seems largely due to this worship of the Emperor and his Ancestors that the present Emperor and his enlightened Ministers have been able to carry the people with them in the innovations of the last thirty years.

The chapters on Education are very instructive. In 1871, just one year after the adoption of compulsory education in England, a Department of Education was established in Japan. Two years later an Educational Code, comprising the whole system of Universities, secondary and primary schools, was issued. It was fixed by law that all children must attend school on reaching the age of six, and complete a course of not less than four years. The primary schools are divided into ordinary and higher—the ordinary being for the compulsory four years' course, the higher primary schools for a further course of two, three or four years, which is voluntary. At present, of the school population, 90 per cent. are receiving the prescribed course of instruction, and 60 per cent. of the graduates of the ordinary schools pass to the higher primary schools. Count Okuma, in his chapter on "The Growth of Education," mentions some serious difficulties which confront the Japanese student. Not the least of these is that Japanese literature is developed along Chinese lines, and is bound up with Chinese literature. It is necessary therefore to learn Chinese as well as Japanese characters, and to study Chinese characters. Another difficulty is in the difference between the written and the spoken languages:—

Originally the written and spoken languages were nearly identical, but owing to the influence of Chinese literature the written language became more Chinese, while the spoken remained Japanese. At the present moment the written language is a mixture of Chinese characters and the Japanese alphabet; and thus, when a lecturer addresses his students, these cannot take down his words, but have to write a special treatise on the same subject. The physique of the Japanese people is not as good as might be hoped for; and this must be attributed to the years of peace and ease preceding the Restoration. This difficulty of the difference between the written and spoken languages is a serious tax upon them, and duplicates their work. So much time has to be spent in study that it is impossible for them to have sufficient physical exercise. If more exercise is allowed, then the years devoted to education must be lengthened, and this would mean a serious loss to the work of the nation.

Several attempts have been made to bring the written and spoken languages into line, but apparently without success. A third difficulty in Japanese education emphasised by Count Okuma is the lack of a moral standard. The old religious standard was destroyed by the Restoration, and there is great difficulty in deciding what should take its place. "In the Western world Christianity supplies the moral

"standard. In Japan some desire a return to old forms, with patriotism added, others prefer Christianity, some lean on Kant, others on other philosophers. Everything is confused. If a great man and leader of men were to arise, the way of decision would be more easy. Otherwise the difficulty seems almost insuperable."

* Two notes are frequently repeated throughout the volume. One is in reference to the amazement expressed by many people at the changes made in Japan in so short a period. Several of the writers remind us that Old Japan had a unique national civilisation, dating back more than 2,000 years, which gave her a special adaptability for the assimilation of Western enlightenment. "It is a fallacy," says Baron Suyematsu, and there is a suspicion of dryness in his comment, "to think that any aborigines or tribes scattered in different parts of the globe could, emulating Japan, raise themselves in the same way as she has done at so short a notice." The other note is one of impatience at the praise which is being bestowed on Japan for her military prowess to the exclusion of all other phases of her national development. "If," says Baron Shibusawa, "the warm reception I received abroad is based on the feeling that I came from a country known for its military exploits, I must confess that that reception is a death-blow to our hopes." It is sometimes said that Japan's modern civilisation is only outward, and that there is a possibility of a reaction. I do not think that any reader of the present work will entertain this idea; nor can I imagine that many will disagree with the sentiment expressed by Baron Suyematsu, with which I must close the book: "Japan is convinced that she is not fighting merely for personal political aims, but that she is fighting also in the interests of the whole civilised world; she is fighting for her own sake, of course, but at the same time she is carrying it on at the mandate of England and America, as it were, in the cause of civilisation and humanity."

* * * *

Written during the last months of his life, Sir Leslie Stephen's study of "Hobbes," recently published in Messrs. Macmillan's "English Men of Letters" Series, shows no sign of failing powers in its author. It is doubtful, indeed, whether there is any critic now living who could have written so lively and interesting a book on a subject that, in most hands, would have proved irreclaimably dull. Never perhaps has Sir Leslie's lightness of touch and power of profound yet vivacious exposition stood him in better stead than in this his last book, in which he journeys over the arid plains of Hobbism, finding oases in the most unexpected regions.

Born in 1588, the year of the Spanish Armada, and living on to the year 1679, Thomas Hobbes, of Malmesbury, was the foremost English thinker in the long period between Bacon and Locke, and though time has dealt less gently with his works than with those of his predecessor

and successor, he must always be a notable figure in the history of European thought. It cannot be said that he exercised any great influence on his contemporaries, except, as Sir Leslie puts it, "by rousing opposition" and compelling his opponents to look into the foundations of their own creeds (no small service in itself); but in later times the French Encyclopædists and the English Utilitarians were undoubtedly his philosophic children. The most important event in Hobbes's life, as determining his whole philosophic career, was an accident, as most important events are or seem to be to our limited vision. The story is told by Aubrey:—

Being in a gentleman's library, Euclid's *Elements* lay open, and 'twas the 47th *El. libri I.* He read the proposition. "By God," said he, "this is impossible." So he reads the demonstration of it which referred him back to such a proposition: which proposition he read. That referred him back to another, which he also read. *Et sic deinceps* that at last he was demonstratively convinced of that truth. This made him in love with geometry.

This was when Hobbes was forty years of age. It is surprising that the knowledge should have come to him so late, and the effects of the incident may serve as a warning to schoolmasters to inoculate their pupils early. It was this casual introduction to Euclid that made Hobbes a Hobbit, and started him on his career as a philosopher. The aim of all his philosophy is to give a geometrical, that is to say, a mechanical theory of the universe. "Man is an automaton: thought is a motion in his brain; all his actions can be explained by the laws of motion, like the motion of a clock or of the Chatsworth water-works." It has been said by one of his critics that Hobbes's merit is that his consistent adoption of this theory "brings out the inevitable failure of a thorough-going materialism."

I can only touch in passing on Sir Leslie's acute and elaborate analysis of Hobbes's philosophy. It is necessarily less exhaustive than Croom Robertson's, which will still remain the standard work on the subject, but it is better adapted for general reading, enlivened as it is by the author's ironic method of criticism, which often exposes a fallacy where a more direct attack might fail. Sir Leslie treats Hobbes's philosophical system under three heads, as it relates (1) to "The World," (2) to "Man," (3) to "The State." He is evidently in closer sympathy with the man than with his philosophy. Of the "*Leviathan*," the only work by which Hobbes is known to-day beyond a small circle of specialists,* he says, "(It) may be taken for an intellectual fossil—a collection of erroneous assumptions and sophistries which are confuted in a paragraph or two of the students' text-books." But he adds the

* An excellent edition of the "*Leviathan*" has recently been published by the Cambridge University Press, at a popular price. The text has been carefully edited by Mr. A. R. Waller, and is a faithful reproduction of the text of the first edition of 1651.

qualifying reflection that if thinkers did not break ground with "premature" schemes of doctrine, we should never advance to more durable schemes. "The tentative gropings of a great man, trying to secure a starting-point, are always instructive. . . . Perhaps our descendants may be equally dissatisfied with systems which bulk very largely in our eyes, though we may hope that they will make allowance for our inevitable ignorance." One specific service rendered by Hobbes to speculation is clearly brought out by his critic. Hobbes was the first writer to recognise that "civil philosophy," or, as we call it, "sociology," must be based upon scientific knowledge. In this respect Sir Leslie compares him with Herbert Spencer, with whom he has not a few points in common. "Each of them aims at exhibiting a complete system in which the results of the physical sciences will be co-ordinated with ethical and political theory." Hobbes's attempt, undertaken in the infancy of physical science before the essential data were available, was of necessity premature, but it was a step in the right direction out of the slough of scholasticism.

Hobbes's theories, and the dogmatic and aggressive manner in which he asserted them, excited the keenest antagonism among his contemporaries. In the "Auctarium" there is a long list of contemporary writers upon Hobbes, but the list includes only one work in his defence, and that anonymous. Men of all parties and creeds seem to have agreed in opposing Hobbism. The political absolutism of the "Leviathan" was as distasteful to constitutionalists like Clarendon as to the politicians of the Commonwealth, while Anglican bishops and Nonconformist divines found common ground in their denunciation of the "atheistical" doctrines of its author. Hobbes always denied that the term "atheist" properly applied to him. He called himself not only a theist, but a Christian. To Sir Leslie it is quite clear that Hobbes's system "is incompatible with anything that can be called theism"; but he points out that this does not in itself constitute sufficient grounds for calling its author an atheist. On this point Sir Leslie has a passage which applies to the theological controversies of the 20th century as well as to those of the 17th.—

In such discussions two distinct questions are apt to be confounded. The question, that is, what a man really believed, is identified with the question what were the logical consequences of his belief. It is undeniable that a man often rejects, and sometimes rejects with horror, doctrines which to others seem to be inevitable inferences from the first principles which he explicitly affirms. It is therefore "unfair," we are told, to attribute to a man the beliefs which, to our minds, he was logically bound to hold. It is certainly unfair so far as it is false. If a man repudiates a doctrine, the repudiation should be noted, even though we may think that he is under a delusion, which amounts to a concealment of his own opinions from himself under a mislay of words. Some-

times, indeed, we are only "unfair" in the sense that we are paying him too high a compliment by supposing that he saw the full bearing of his arguments.

In the case of Hobbes, however, there is a presumption that so acute a thinker must have carried out his arguments to their logical conclusions, and that fear of the bishops rather than any defect in his logic was the cause of his apparent blindness to the nature of his true position. Intellectually audacious, he was both physically and morally timid, and certainly not a man to court martyrdom. Aubrey has a significant story that when one of Spinoza's works appeared in 1670, Hobbes said: "He has cut through me a bar's length, for I durst not write so boldly." Even behind the shelter of his reservations Hobbes was not out of danger, as was shown by the proceedings in Parliament in 1666 after the plague and fire of London. A Bill was brought in for the suppression of atheism and profaneness, and a committee was instructed "to receive information about Mr. Hobbes's '*Leviathan*.'" The Bill passed the Commons, but was ultimately dropped, probably through the favour of Charles and Arlington. Hereafter, we are told, Hobbes went more regularly to the earl's chapel.

Sir Leslie is at his best in his sketch of Hobbes's life, which does full justice to a very interesting personality. It is often assumed that the egoism and cynicism of Hobbes's ethical theories were the reflection of his personal character, but this assumption is certainly not confirmed by the glimpses we get of his private life. Few men have won and kept so many friends. His warm friendship with the Cavendish family, with Clarendon, Harvey, Seldon, and many other eminent men, must have been founded on a mutual esteem creditable to both sides; and though his life was one long controversy, none of his opponents ever seems to have attacked the character of the man as distinguished from the thinker. "Clarendon, when confuting his abominable doctrines, declares that Hobbes was one of his oldest friends, and emphatically asserts the personal esteem entertained by himself and others for his antagonist." Hobbes is one of the most remarkable examples on record of the preservation of extraordinary intellectual activity to an extreme old age. He was nearly seventy when he began his "circle-squaring" controversy, and he maintained the fight with unabated energy for more than twenty years—the moral of which is, as Sir Leslie points out, that "a man should read Euclid before he is forty." At seventy-six he began to study law, and produced a "Dialogue between a Philosopher and a Student of the Common Laws of England," which is noticed by Maine as showing that "Hobbes had anticipated many of the legal reforms afterwards advocated by Bentham." In his eighty-sixth year he translated the whole of the "*Iliad*" and the "*Odyssey*" into English quatrains. The last four years of his life were spent in retirement at Chatsworth and Hardwick, but he was still at work. He published his last scientific paper when he was ninety, and in the

following year, a few months before his death, he told his publisher that he was "writing somewhat to print in English." In October, 1679, he was seized by the illness to which he succumbed. "I shall be glad," he said upon learning that the complaint was incurable at his age, "to find "a hole to creep out of the world at."

• Hobbes's niche in the Temple of Fame is secure, even though his works be unread. If it be possible to arouse fresh interest in them to-day, Sir Leslie's admirable little volume should do it.

* * * *

The publication of a new volume of poems by Mr. Swinburne is always an important literary event and a delight to lovers of poetry. It is now nearly forty years since "*Atalanta in Calydon*" set the seal on the young poet's fame, and to-day he sings to us as the sole survivor of the famous company of Mid-Victorian poets. There is all the old mastery of metre and witchery of words in his latest volume, "*A Channel Passage and Other Poems*" (Chatto and Windus), a collection of scattered pieces written for the most part during the last ten years. The contents are very varied, representing most of the poet's moods and manners. Mr. Swinburne has always been powerfully attracted by the sea, but if we except the "*Casquet Rocks*," I do not think he has ever given us so beautiful a poem of the sea as that which gives the title to this volume. It is dated 1855, and one is surprised that it should have waited till now for publication. The longest poem in the book is "*The Altar of Righteousness*," in which the poet gives expression to his religion of humanity. It is a striking outburst of emotional fervour, with many noble lines, but marred, as I think, by excessive vehemence. Turning to other pieces in the book, we have a beautiful sequence of nature poems—"The Promise of the Hawthorn," "*Hawthorn Tide*," and "*The Passing of the Hawthorn*"—and some exquisite verses inspired by the tender grace of children, such as the lines "*To a Baby Kinswoman*" and "*A Clasp of Hands*." There is also a finely-written series of prologues to Elizabethan plays. Many of Mr. Swinburne's admirers will regret that he has chosen to reprint some of the political verses included in this volume. When poets meddle with politics they seldom do their reputation anything but harm. Such tirades of rhetorical abuse as "*The Question*" and "*Apostacy*" will seem to many, who are not necessarily admirers of Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy, quite unworthy of the hand that penned them. One turns with relief from this political lampoonry to the loftier atmosphere of Mr. Swinburne's praise. Here we find some fine examples of the tributes he delights to pay, both to his friends and to the literary giants of the past, among them an ode to Burns which is particularly striking, though not everyone will agree with Mr. Swinburne that Burns the satirist was greater than Burns the poet of the daisy. One of the most beautiful

thing in the book is the dedicatory poem to William Morris and Sir Edward Burne Jones :—

Men, mightier than death which divides us,
 Friends, dearer than sorrow can say,
 The light that is darkness and hides us
 Awhile from each other away
 Abides but awhile and endures not,
 We know, though the day be as night,
 For souls that forgetfulness lures not
 Till sleep be in sight

The sleep that enfolds you, the slumber
 Supreme and eternal on earth,
 Whence ages of numberless number
 Shall bring us not back into birth,
 We know not indeed if it be not
 What no man hath known if it be,
 Life, quickened with light that we see not
 If spirits may see

• • • • •

Lying upon my table is a new Popular Edition of the Works of Mark Rutherford, published by Mr Fisher Unwin, in seven volumes—"The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford," "Mark Rutherford's Deliverance," "The Revolution in Tanner's Lane," "Miriam's Schooling," and "Catherine Furze." It is unlikely that this remarkable series of books will ever attain popularity in the ordinary sense of the term, for they deal too exclusively with the drabs and greys of life, and their author's point of view is too uniformly sombre; but at least two of them—the "Autobiography" and the "Deliverance"—will be read and cherished by the few for whom they are written long after the more popular novels of to-day have ceased to be. These two books have been ranked among the great confessions of literature, and in the present writer's opinion the praise is not exaggerated. If ever there were a "human document," we have it here, written in pure, nervous English that might well be the despair of the "stylist." Seldom has the written word borne so unmistakably the stamp of artistic and spiritual sincerity. In the present edition these books should find a wider circle of readers than they have hitherto had; for, scattered up and down the land, there must be many who have felt and suffered what their author has felt and suffered, and to whom they will become a treasured possession.



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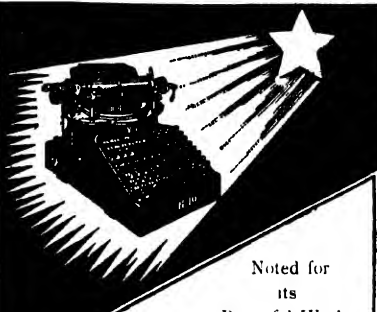
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VIBRONA must not be confounded with Coca and other medicated wines whose stimulating properties are almost wholly dependent on the alcohol they contain. The tonic action of VIBRONA is cumulative; that is to say, it continues to exert its effect in a gradually increasing degree until the whole system feels strengthened and invigorated. The appetite improves, the digestive functions acquire a healthy activity, and both mental and physical exertion can be borne without abnormal fatigue or exhaustion.

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